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Why so many cities  
are taking it out

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SEPT.  
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2009



**INSIDE OTTAWA**

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The Conservatives have an  
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PEGAN FOX promoting Jennifer's body at TIFF. Debbie Cidy called Fox's physique "every levitating rippled胸肌 I've ever known"

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estate agent. I don't know much about what is "professional" in the real estate business, but anyone like that would not be out of place in a business where lines and leaders are all regular. Even *united front* could publication. I have been looking for a Canadian magazine that can give various good laughs from real events. Madman could be filling a空缺 in our news-scape.

Gerry Thomas, Toronto

Dunne might have continued his own shabby life, without the anxiety of forced hon by those whose confidence he betrayed.

Marian Barrie, Calgary

### SPEEDY SPECULATION

AT AGE 15, Usain Bolt was already a star athlete in the Caribbean. As he was winning races at the World Junior Championships and achieving times that Michael Johnson did not

then match" (Health, Sept. 14). The Heart and Stroke Foundation of Canada is partnering with community stakeholders to place more automatic defibrillators (AEDs) across the country. More than 16 lives have been saved as a direct result of public access to an AED in Ontario alone. November is CPR month and we invite Canadians to take the time to learn the life-saving skills of CPR, get trained in AEDs, and help us make our CPR bystander rates in Canada. Don't you want to re-connect the chest in a cardiac arrest? —you may need a life. Dr. Laelani Marano, Vice Chair, Research, Policy and Planning Advisory Committee, Heart and Stroke Foundation of Canada, Toronto

KATIE ENGLISHHART's article reached on a number of excellent points, such as how the current concept of CPR has had only minor changes since its origin in the 1960s. CPR consensus treatment for a cardiac arrest (just compensation) with treatment for a resuscitation may vary (much so much), when there are two entirely different medical emergencies: triggers of cardiovascular disease outbreaks, the likelihood of intensive putting them in such a critical state is diminishing. Since CPR without mouth-to-mouth usually increases chances of survival, mouth-to-mouth needs to be encouraged only for respiratory arrests, where patients still have a pulse, or for unconscious colleagues where it would be unclear whether a pulse or respiration. We have chosen for someone to receive resuscitation as it is a more immediate and continuous-care problem with rapid access to an AED. CPR consensus needs to be harmonized substantially and every public building needs to have an AED in order for that to work.

Bradley Dibble, Cardiologist, Midland, Ont.

achieve until he was 20. This was before the Jamaican government made arrangements for him to receive formal training. All of this information is easily accessible, and would have added depth and a different perspective to a story that had great potential. Instead, your article ("Too fast to be slow," Sports, Sept. 7) comes across as a weak attempt to discredit a human phenomenon.

Matthew Wynter, Toronto

YOUR ARTICLE on Usain Bolt's achievements is terrible and a speculative journalism gone wrong. No matter if there is never a positive test, Asik Lance Armstrong! He was tested more than anybody and never found guilty. The speculation surrounding him started in 1999 and people still believe he doped in spite of all the negative tests and an independent judicial inquiry that found the whole lot. S. can do. In the end, it turned out that most of his cited results were cheating while he was manipulating them. Armstrong has now started Bolt's achievements and no matter how many positive tests he has, people will always believe he doped.

David A. Peacock, Barrie, Ont.

### DUNNE DEAL

MARK STEVENS' article on Dominic Dunne ("No wonder the Kennedy family has," Sept., Sept. 14) reads like a Dunne article in *Monty Python*. Although easily imagined by his writings, I quickly ended reading the gory and hideous sans dropping in his articles, which makes the chills, reverberating behind the back, even fiercer than a torture girl who couldn't seem to spread confidences and secrets, shuddering to some sense of importance. One gets the impression that if Dunne's daughter had any bones marinated, and her earwax had not received a light sentence,

by someone readers (or others) to another letter) transformation to Macduff, 1111, floor One, Mount Pleasant Road, Toronto, Ont. n1P 2B7. Please supply your name, address and daytime telephone number. Letters should be less than 200 words, and may be edited for space, style and clarity.

### WHERE THE HEART IS

WE APPRECIATE Madman's effort to bring to the issue of resuscitation in "The heart of



"C'mon good athletes are accused of doping, they're banished, even if they're innocent!"

### BRIDAL POSSESSION

AS CANADIANS, we are righteously outraged with the conditions for women in Afghanistan and their designated roles in marriage. Yet how can clinging to the tradition of "giving away the bride" be of the same apalled of bad. According to your article ("Dads, stepdads and love feelings," Home, Sept. 14), we must fight as to what rights is in to give her away. If a woman is entering into a marriage as an independent and equal partner, perhaps it's fitting for both sides to do the same. After all, as a father of two teenage girls, I will hopefully be witnessing their weddings one day and I would prefer she in the first pew and them as they march unseated down the aisle. Peter McCann, Toronto

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BY MARK STEVENS, TORONTO



### A WEEK IN THE (AFTER)LIFE OF KURT COBAIN

Dead for 25 years, the Nirvana singer has made a comeback—in *Guitar Hero V*, Cobain's widow, Courtney Love, originally agreed to the digital resurrection, but now that it's on sale shelves she is threatening to sue. His former bandmates are equally livid that players can use the Cobain character to sing dozens of different songs, and not just the two Nirvana selections. Courtney isn't too upset. At week's end, *Guitar Hero V* was outselling the much hyped *Rock Band: The Beatles*.

### Good news

#### Listeriosis lessons

ONE year after 22 Canadians were killed by salmon-based outbreaks, the Harper government is promising to overhaul the country's unsafe food safety system. Gerry Ritz, the agriculture minister, says the \$70-million-plus follows all 37 recommendations made by the investigation who probed the Maple Leaf outbreak. The feds don't exactly deserve a pat on the back, especially for leaving the experts—especially among all the elected clatter—but considering that the Canadian Food Inspection Agency still can't figure out how many salmon are contaminating ready-to-eat foods, this announcement is certainly a step in the right direction.

#### A Wild upset

PAUL HARASIM, interim leader of Alberta's Wildrose Alliance Party, captured the Calgary-Glennerson by-election this week, stealthily bypassing the Tories, who have held the seat since 1989. For an upstart party trying to work its way in from the fringes of Alberta politics, the result was surprising. The publicity and public accountability of having one elected member under the dome will help the party evolve. And for Alberta, the unpredictable nomination, one-party state political culture is welcome change. Don't say you always better serve by more choices, more choices.

#### Nuclear meltdown

Iran has long refused to give up its nuclear program, and years of ignoring the international community's protest motions are hardly peaceful. But there were signs this week that Iran is finally looking to ease the stand-off. The country announced it will co-operate more with the United Nations' nuclear watch-

#### Secrets and lies

OVERSUSpect Lucifer—or someone claiming to be the s1 Quadra Leader—has raised another radioactive fog from his Friday hide, warning the West that it is engaged in an unnecessary war in Afghanistan and destined for defeat like the Soviets. Considering it's almost the same message that James Carter's former national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, delivered this week. Most likely, it seems that Canadiana, who have now seen 130 of their

### FACE OF THE WEEK



FOULED OUT: R.C. skipper Justin Rose is nursing more than a sore neck. His season is over, thanks to a fracture in his back.

and an ATM returned the loot to the bank—and was more than happy to return a \$500 Boston Pizza gift card exchange for his honesty. In Calgary, a man who accidentally left \$1,000 in his car bumper was equally gratified that a stranger went out of his way to return the cash. But not everyone appreciates a Good Samaritan. An Edmonton picking-up litter fellow a wallet with \$700, but when the local newspaper tried to contact the owner, the last thing he wanted was his name print. Turned out the man dropped his wallet while being arrested for child pornography.

soldiers make the ultimate sacrifice for Afghan freedom, we no longer allow us to know the author's name. Amazingly, the Defence Department revealed "national security" grants to cover budget inflation emanating in the federal NDP. The battle for hearts and minds should start at home.

#### The future is dry

A new report from an international think tank predicts that global warming could cut rainfall up to 15 per cent of their GDP by 2050. Modelling the impact of droughts, humanised other clergy come-on. ■

around disasters on economics, especially in developing world, the UN-backed Economics of Climate Adaptation Working Group concluded that worldwide credible risk ahead causes more money is spent on strategies to adapt to climate change and that in effect, study said it is already too late to save good. Canadian scientists say that quality of hope is needed to make their own country's climate policies has been declining year by year since the late 1990s due to temperature increases. Hotter weather and no decent cold ones? Save us.

#### Hand to mouth

85 out of 10 Canadians would have trouble paying the bills if their paycheques were delayed by one week, according to results from a new survey released this week. The fact that 99 per cent of us don't have any financial wiggle room—like emergency savings—comes as household savings are at an all-time high (up 20 per cent from last year). Maybe Nicolas Sarkozy is right. The French president says we should stop depressing terms like "green domestic product" and start measuring economic success according to "ingenuity". Ignorance is bliss, after all.

#### Come here often?

Ladies'eware: Anne Hidalgo application provides paycheque access to hundreds of emergency pickup lines. Even the name of the app is lame: "San-drum Drying Laundry Generator." Don't be fooled, though: the program is popular among priests, priests and priests. A new study found that 11.1 per cent of them were ownership of their own homes, regardless of income or education, have been the targets of a clergy come-on. ■

# NEWSMAKERS

## Dr. Nash's hero

Whalehaar basketballer lifted Terry Fox out of the foot of his legs a lung cancer. So it's fitting that Fox's Mum of Hope Foundation will now British Columbia born Steve Nash, Canada's greatest basketball player. Nash, who grew up with Fox's family, visited his grave in Port Coquitlam and has produced a heartfelt documentary on his childhood hero, to be aired on ESPN next spring. Fox's foundation has raised hundreds of millions for cancer research. Nash's own foundation helps "underprivileged" children in Canada, Arizona and Paraguay. The Phoenix Suns point guard is back in B.C. this weekend to receive an honorary law degree from the University of Victoria, and to host a charity soccer match in Vancouver.



earlier by Seressa Wilkerson, who was caught screaming, cursing, shaking a ball in a fire extinguisher and threatening to "shove it down" her throat. Wilkerson had been arrested a fact that during much post-game taunting. After briefly suspending her, she ultimately went way over it, in the judgment, and was permitted to point a finger at suspension committee members, costing her the game. Two days later, a \$100 fine was imposed. Williams said she thinks she could prevent herself from doing that again.

## Barbara Thatcher

moops. Goldblum, 64, gave his 57-year-old brother John, soldier and doctor at the NATO hospital base, some graham cracker in the bone marrow; spread bread, organic meat and, no shock here, graham. More surprising was the power-living coach's support for extending Canada's mission there beyond the stand-pakoo time of 2011. They believe they're helping the Afghan population, he told the Canadian News Service. "I'm full of admiration for these kids," included in Goldblum's performances such as saying anti-war song "I Want a Better Life" after Articulation, Canadian Forces commander Eric Gen. Jonathan Vance gave him a hand, and he easily handed and well-behaved 18-month-old daughter Julia in the other. Contrast that with the tantrum thrown a day

## Finally, his very own rocket launcher

Evan Cookham, the amateur home-stortioner, arrived in Kandahar, Afghanistan, bearing gifts for his little brother and a message of rapport for Canadian



HUGHIE NEFF

It was a busy week for a god stick man and Playboy magazine founder Hugh Hefner. He pulled the plug on his marriage to ex-Playmate Kimberly Conrad nine years after they were engaged. Hefner explained they stayed married for the sake of their two sons, though it's likely the timeline was Conrad's decision to sue for a \$1 million over the sale of her house beside the Playboy mansion. Meanwhile, 83-year-old Hefner arrived in

PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD; MARIO BARTEL

Toronto last weekend supported, almost literally, by three benefit performances, including a pair of 19-year-old twins. Hefner was at the Toronto International Film Festival for the premiere of Hugh Hefner: Playboy, Author and Rebel. The documentary, by Canadian filmmaker Brigitte Beaman, profiles his sexual, agent ownership, twin destruction, McCarthyism and entrepreneurial sexiness. Hefner is

explicates his deeper side. Backstage, we met the late Hughie, the young Hughie, the young Hughie used to read.



HUGHIE

Camel revealed last year she has dementia. She also hasn't fully recovered from fracturing her shoulder in a fall last June.

## Cooking up trouble

Shacka, it was just had shakshuka she did in British celebrity chef Huzun Huzunashvili, now a measured mouthwatering plot. Measured not parsimonious, Huzunashvili's new book of London, *Bigga*, is filled with nearly all with warming and dishes last February. An unconvincing by the National Health Protection Agency passed the blame last week on contaminated eggs. The British fiddlees are a fragrant lot.

Wheeler, whose quirky name may have included hunking guests

back loaded with raw meat to accompany a fish dish, has spanned real Gordon Ramsay for top restaurateur in the influential Good Food Guide. Ramsay scored nine points to Wheeler's 10.

## The new Osama

Al-Qaida leader Osama bin Laden continues to baffle the U.S., warning an audiotape released by three crew members working on his last transformer that the slaying might continue. In the end, there was little either fighter could do to stop the mean-spirited *Baroness Thatcher*, who, in failing health, has not commented on the documents. Her daughter



KIRK

wanted terrorist on the planet, he laid his stash of questionable evidence before some consider a review a gross threat. Shabu Abu Yahya al-Libi, director of al-Qaeda's propaganda operation, "wants to have made Qada's 'coff' for a younger generation," writes Alastair Brashorn in Foreign Policy magazine. Brashorn, a US academic and former research director at West Point's Combating Terrorism Center, says Abu Yahya is a young, plausible, media-savvy and every bit as savage ideological fanatic as the current leadership. Terrorism is just one element of his larger plan to re-imagine the imagination of Muslim worldwide. Brashorn says Abu Yahya already established headquarters as a warlord. He spent almost three years in an American guarded prison in Afghanistan before maintaining a strong escape in 2005. He has called to Americans capture "cowardly" and "foolish" slanted."

## Fox on the run

Actress Megan Fox is "distracted" and not very nice, claims an angry open letter by three crew members working on her last transformer. The slaying might continue since Fox said film director Michael Bay "wants to see Hitler on his sets, and he is." She called Bay "a nightmare to work for." But off the set, "I kind of really enjoy his personality because he is so laid-back, so hopefully awkward." The annoyed crew members pointed a smoldering cigarette at the director's sub-suit, noting Bay picked her from "total obscurity" and made her a star. They called her "dark, less, cleavage, gaudy," though they conceded "she has great eyes [and] a tight compact, we spray with gynorm." For all that, the working conditions aren't great. "We've had the unbearable time of watching her try to act, and yes, it's very erratic." Besides, they added, "we seriously don't think she knows who Hitler is." Bay took down the letter saying he didn't condone the crew members or "Megan's awfulistic quotes."



ELIZABETH WILLIAMS

Elizabeth Williams

## White-collar crooks

Back the federal and Quebec governments presented tougher measures than we'd heard about and while older fraudsters, and more too soon in the view of older investors. Jury selection began on Monday for the criminal trial of Vincent Labrecque, the former CEO of Montreal-based Assurance Vie. He is accused of defrauding \$1 billion from thousands of Quebec investors. He was previously found guilty of securities violation and was sentenced to 12 years in prison. That's when he was released on appeal, and he is now on parole after serving just 40 months. Also free in Montreal, money manager Raoul-Jeanne Fournier faced charges for allegedly scamming 150 investors, including friends and family, of \$4 million. Both will be condemned on Friday as police kept a watchful eye on a swarm of angry investors waiting outside. Jeanne had already pleaded, leaving behind a pile of cash on the counter and an open book of her son's will. According to the son's will, he wants his ashes to be scattered in Calgary in 100 days, after which his remains will be pulped running an environmental protest selective that earned more than \$600 million from investors. One of the cases is still at large. ■



CHUCK COCKRELL



CHINA is rapidly expanding, but the concern about its environmental impact is misplaced

## The trouble with a No Impact Planet



ANDREW POTTER

Outdoors types have for ages practiced no-tariff camping, without cherishing mottoes like "Leave only footprints, take only memories." The rationale was simple enough: the central tenet of a "no-gear" camping campaign is that you are entering the "wilderness," a realm free of civilization with minimal evidence of human activity. If you violate your promise and leave a bunch of used flashlight batteries and crumpled foil foiloyarni trash lying around, it lends a spoilt effect for the next group. In short, no impact camping is the only way to make the experience sustainable for everyone.

But that idea, that what makes sustainability is the effect our actions have on our future well-being and our descendants', is one we often forget when it comes to thinking about the economy and the environment as a whole. Which is a bummer, since the French land commission, convened by the UN in 1980, explicitly defines a sustainable economy as one that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

But lately, environmentally conscious folks have taken to seeing low-impact living as a virtue in itself, with the hope of humans leav-

ing out to 2050, regardless of their ultimate effect—sustainability be damned. "It has been impossible recently to hear the idea that the activities of businesses or other organizations [the Vancouver Olympics, say] should be carbon neutral, and it won't change because we're hearing about the 'No Impact Corporation.'

Starbucks is probably a good example to head down this path. My local outlet recently put up posters advertising the company's ongoing campaign at making the world a better place for everyone, but they have already built the campaign around the glibly trappy slogan, "Everything we do, you do." (Translation: our impact is your impact, so if Starbucks pollutes the earth, it's your fault for shopping here.) Starbucks is absolutely right: the environmental footprint of any corporation is ultimately just the collective footprint of its customers, whether it's coffee, consumer electronics, or gasoline. All consumption is personal consumption in the end.

That's a question we should be concerned about the sustainability of our activities. But the problem with the "no-impact" memo is that it embodies such a malady: legal and evolutionary consciousness of what that involves. So we worry about the exhaustion of fossil fuels, metals and minerals, the depletion of arable land, the shortage of suitable landfill space, when what we should really be worried about is whether living standards are going up or down, because used-up entire mountain ranges of coal in the 19th century. That resource is largely exhausted now, but so what? We got the Industrial Revolution at exchange, something that continues to pay serious dividends.

Also of the memo concern about the environmental impact of the rapidly expanding Chinese economy is similarly misplaced. Yes, it is a dirty and inefficient expansion right now, but it will become less so as the economy matures. In the meantime, the high levels of pollution and emissions are probably a necessary trade-off for a country that needs to modernize as quickly as possible.

Put from compartmentalizing the needs of future generations, for centuries now our activities have steadily made life better, by any measurable set of measures, for a惊异ingly increasing number of humans.

The truth is, humans make a huge fast print on the earth. We could never be the "no-impact species." And the real question is, who ever would we want to be? What we really want is for that impact to have a positive trade-off, making our lives better not just immediately, but for generations to come. If the past is any guide to the future, there is little reason to think that's not possible. ■



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put out your hand.*

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CAPITAL DIARY

## MITCH RAPHAEL ON WHY THE NDP HATES ALL THE APPLAUSE AND A POLITICAL WIFE'S NEW HAIR

### COMING SOON? THIS IS YOUR PILOT, RUBY DHALLA, SPEAKING.

Liberal MP Ruby Dhalla was in riding lockdown this summer. She left only twice for the Liberal caucus meeting in Sudbury, and for French lessons in France. This autumn, to mark her fifth year as an elected official, she was raising money for the Ethno-Cultural Canadian Women's Organization or ECCO (the final G is for the syllable *woman*). The group's goal is combatting domestic violence in ethnic communities. Dhalla is also studying to be a pilot, so far, the two only been in simulations, though. Toronto Pearson International Airport is the border after riding. She often goes there herself to meet with constituents because security people, many of whom are constraints; they're too afraid to talk about things like immigration problems when the leaves for Ottawa on Mondays. But for the first Monday of the House session, Dhalla had a downtown Toronto meeting and flew Transat Air from the Toronto international. Her reading for the first week back was Niall Ferguson's *The Ascent of Money: A Financial History of the World*. Over the summer she read Barack Obama's book and *The Tao of Pooh: The Niceman's Way to Party Your Body for Health and Longevity*.

### IT'S THE MUCH-COVETED SPOT

Conservative backbencher MP Brad Trost seems to be one of the dogs whose several Tory MPs were snuffed at Trost after his bid failed. "The majority funding money that went to the gay pride parade in Toronto was not government policy, was not supported by — I think it's safe to say — by a large majority of the MPs." This was a very isolated decision. He also alluded to a



NEW MAN IN OTTAWA: Diane Abbott (bottom left), Jack Layton (top left), Ruby Dhalla (middle left), Joyce Murray (middle right), Leah Darrell (bottom right) and Tim Clark (bottom right), while (seated) Stephen Dion (left), Laureen Harper (right)

Lobby Abbott says the Conservative team tried to use the last election's statement simply to refute Liberal Leader Michael Ignatieff. The permanent committee, she says, resulted in the Liberal caucus raising and extending their applause for their leader. Given that the applause is going on so long, it's creating an impasse period and lowering the NDP's chance of

getting in an extra question at the end. She's complicated to speak Peter Munk.

### BIG MAN, BIG STUDIO

CBC's Jian Ghomeshi got some welcome in the House foyer as MPs returned to the Hill. Ghomeshi will host a two-hour show replacing Don Newman's *Power, Politics, Power and People* and will start mid-October. Ghomeshi's ageing

announcer, bigger than Newsmash. The six-foot-five host prompted many MPs to comment, "I didn't know he was tall." No more has been announced for the new show but it will have".

have". With Evan Solomon's seat vacated, over the CTV corner of the foyer, Power Play and Tim Clark has new lights that do not give off heat. That means MPs meeting in Tim Clark's vacated room longer than the equipment

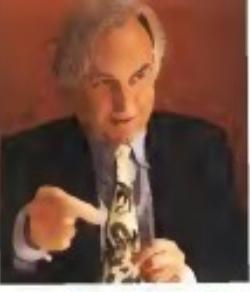
### DRON SEEKS SPACE

Much chatter over the summer that former Green leader Stephane Dion would be seeking another term. On the last day backlund told Capital Daily he plans to run. He hasn't been trying to find a campaign office but it's been tough. That's because, he says, upcoming municipal elections in Montreal mean the godfathers are already taken.

### HER NEW FLIP

Michael Ignatieff's wife, Zanana Akbar, has a hot new hairstyle with a big move flip to it. It looks as if she's gearing ready to move into 24 Sussex since her offiice researches Diana Marquer's, albeit a slightly darker version.

**ON THE WEB:** For more Ottawa news, go to [canadiannewswatch.ca](http://canadiannewswatch.ca) or contact Michael Ignatieff at [michaelignatieff@ottawa.ca](mailto:michaelignatieff@ottawa.ca).



## Evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins on Darwin, faith and natural selection, and why creationists are simply history deniers

A CONVERSATION WITH JONATHON GATEHOUSE

**S**cientist Richard Dawkins's *The God Delusion* sold over one million copies and touched off a controversial debate about the accuracy of a longer paper. Critical diminished him in "Christopher Hitchens' and 'Richard Dawkins'." To Turkey, the book was banned as "an attack on holy values," and an publisher was put on trial. Now the evolutionary biologist—the world's most prominent atheist—will add his rights as a conversant and advocate of "intelligent design." His new book, *The God Delusion*, will be released Sept. 22.

**Q** Your new book is subtitled "The Evidence for Evolution. Why do you think society needs a primer 100 years after Charles Darwin first laid it out

on *The Origin of Species*?"

**A** It's a very, very important idea. It's the explanation that all of life—is a wonderfully simple, yet powerful explanation. If you think about it, before Darwin, we hadn't the foggiest idea of how we came into being. Now we do. It's still such an exciting idea that it can well worth everybody understanding it.

**Q** You compare creationism to Holocaust denial—why do you think the term you've coined isn't a little bit wrong?

**A** That's a particular problem in Britain. I read in the paper today the list of the most popular "atheist" names in the country. The first was me, the second was Holocaust. That makes me feel a little bit worried.

**Q** What is your particular definition of creationism? Is it different to evolution?

**A** No, they're essentially actually plagiarized from the Christians ones, both biblically and in terms of modern creationism. You read Biblical creationism literature, it's pretty much identical from American evangelical literature.

**Q** You've raised the question of racism of evolution in the United States. What's the situation like there?

**A** I wouldn't say that it's bad here, but we have to be vigilante. There are two or three schools which are notorious in Britain. And

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they are monstrously politically organized. But they are equivalent to denying history.

**Q** You cite John Huxley's 16 per cent of Americans believe God created humans beings 20,000 years ago. But you also acknowledge that figure really hasn't changed since we early 1800s. I'm curious about this backtracking. As far as number of creationists aren't increasing, do you think that they are gaining more confidence?

**A** They are possibly gaining more political power. In the U.S., you see constantly new grants of school boards bypassing teachers and trying to get textbooks banned.

**Q** That's terribly, reasonably inaccurate. Of thought with evangelical Christians, so the Sarah Palin crowd. But you've identified Islamic creationism as a growing threat. Why?

**A** That's a particular problem in Britain. I read in the paper today the list of the most popular "atheist" names in the country. The first was me, the second was Holocaust. That makes me feel a little bit worried.

**Q** You take exception to people who talk a lot about Darwin's "theory." Evolution is an indisputable fact, you write, the evidence to overwhelming. That's why are anatomy people resistant to the concept?

**A** And that's usually like exception-making about Darwin's theory; it's just that there are two different meanings of the word. There's the meaning that it's a rigorous scientific hypothesis that might be right or wrong. Then there's the meaning where it's the name for a body of knowledge. I have no objection to using the word in that sense. There is a solidarity for people to say it is only a theory. That is propagope.

**Q** But aren't those who oppose evolutionists harboring some misanthropy or a sense of hubris?

**A** I would say that it's bad here, but we have to be vigilante. There are two or three schools which are notorious in Britain. And

they—the widespread fallacy that humans are descended from chimpanzees, for example. Why? Do we just do a poor job of teaching it?

**A** I guess we do. Another major problem is the idea that it's a theory of chance. If it was you would be right to doubt whether it

**Q** A theory of chance?

**A** People will say, "You're never going to convince me that something as complicated as an eye could come about by sheer chance." And the answer is that natural selection is the very opposite of sheer chance. Natural selection is a total random process.

**Q** The best example is in greatest detail, the eye's evolution. What is the main compelling piece of evidence?

**A** I think the molecular clock gives us evidence. The distribution of genes right across the animal and plant kingdom changes. Before you could look at anatomy—things like bird wings and bat wings and human hands and mouse tails. *Slowdowns* are the same kind of thing, but in highly mass detail. For instance we have the same gene code for all living creatures. Then we have a large number of genes that are remarkably the same, but with small differences—they look like different drafts of the same book. In extreme cases, like a human and a bee, there's the difference between Matthew and Luke's Gospel—exactly they all use the same words, but with different words. Whereas with a human and a chimp, it's two different versions of Matthew, with a few typos in one. So you end with a beautiful family tree of interbreeding, where very close cousins like humans and chimpanzees share genes in common. Slightly less close cousins like humans and monkeys will have comparatively the same genes. You could carry on right down to bacteria and bacteria, and you will find commonalities across phyletic tree for the biochemical tree of creationism.

**Q** One of the things I take issue with is the nativity argument—how easy it would be to disprove evolution. All of it would take is one rather foolish from the Princetonian tree, where all we've found is pretty normal life.

**A** At first, I think it's probably true. But maybe we should start a bit younger. In Britain you don't usually learn about evolution until you are about 15. I should have thought that you should start at about 8. But I would be wrong about that.

**Q** There's a new paper from a psychologist at Bristol University, claiming our brains are hard-wired to believe in God. You've argued that religion beliefs is a product of education or lack of education. Could you see an evolutionary benefit to that?

**A** Oh yes, I think that's quite likely. Not a benefit to itself, but a benefit to the kind of psychological predisposition which allows itself in the form of faith.

**Q** What would those benefits be?

**A** One might be obedience to authority. You can see where that might be of benefit to a child. You are born into a dangerous world, there are all sorts of ways in which you could die, and you need to believe your parents when they tell you don't go near the edge of the cliff, don't drink that milkshake. These could very well be Darwinian survival value in terms of some rule of thumb. And a by-product of that could be that you believe your parents when they tell you about the pap in the sky, or whatever it might be.

**Q** In many ways, many constituents have endorsed "Intelligent Design"—the movement the necessity of life somehow proves that a higher power had a hand in its making. That you argue just the opposite, that life is too com-

plex to be the work of any god.

**A** Yes. The beauty of evolution is that it does provide an explanation of how you can get complexity out of simplicity. In fact it's a slow, gradual degree. So at point are you pronouncing the sudden coming into existence of a completed being?

**Q** You also cite a number of examples of what you call "evidential design."

**A** Yes, there are places where no sensible designer would construct such an error. I had a native ecology day helping to design a garden, which I illustrate in the book. The resort they're now—whereas many trees from the head to the base have gone all the way down into the chest, loop around a major artery, then go all the way back up again. It goes right past the larynx on the way down. All a decent designer would have to do is loop it off at that place. What we're looking at is the legacy of history.

**Q** The book is also a bit missionary work. You try to show creationists their true path. Do you really expect to win any converts?

**A** Probably not winning converts the wool over. But what I would hope is that among people who haven't really thought about it very much, that straightforward. Because evolution has been left out of their education I think there could be a very large number who are creationists by default. Those are the people I want to reach.

**Q** How should we be working that? Is this a week or a month long lesson?

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**Q** In the book, you mention you own an original first edition of Darwin's *The Origin of Species* and that it's your prized possession. You've been tagged as "Darwin's Bulldog." Why do you have such an affinity for him?

**A** He made absolutely the greatest discovery anyone has ever made. He was a man of great persistence. He wasn't probably a natural genius, he worked very hard—even though he was an idiot. He was a great family man, a very nice man. I think he was admirable in all sorts of ways. Like I think it's probably that I'm a biologist and he's the leading figure of the whole of biology.

**Q** On your website, you have a campaign going to encourage followers to "kiss out of the closet," and perhaps even wear scarlet "A" pins on their lapels.

**A** I think the molecular clock gives us evidence. The distribution of genes right across the animal and plant kingdom changes. Before you could look at anatomy—things like bird wings and bat wings and human hands and mouse tails. Slowdowns are the same kind of thing, but in highly mass detail. For instance we have the same gene code for all living creatures. Then we have a large number of genes that are remarkably the same, but with small differences—they look like different drafts of the same book. In extreme cases, like a human and a bee, there's the difference between Matthew and Luke's Gospel—exactly they all use the same words, but with different words. Whereas with a human and a chimp, it's two different versions of Matthew, with a few typos in one. So you end with a beautiful family tree of interbreeding, where very close cousins like humans and chimpanzees share genes in common. Slightly less close cousins like humans and monkeys will have comparatively the same genes. You could carry on right down to bacteria and bacteria, and you will find commonalities across phyletic tree for the biochemical tree of creationism.

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**A** Well, I was certainly the purpose of "The God Delusion," but not The Greatest Show on Earth. The hard-hat against creationism, not against religion per se. If that you are taking one of my more global purpose is a battle against religion, n.s. ■

**There could be a large number of people who are creationists by default. I want to reach those people.'**

**A** Fine, I'll. Laugh-to-myself we're very adroit that we don't want to see people as adverse. We're at the business of convincing people, trying to encourage them, if they are atheist, to be proud of it.

**Q** Is that the something you see as a federal purpose? Never mind it's not just to get people to accept evolution, but to make the next leap?

**A** Well, I was certainly the purpose of "The God Delusion," but not The Greatest Show on Earth. The hard-hat against creationism, not against religion per se. If that you are taking one of my more global purpose is a battle against religion, n.s. ■

# THE BIG GAMBLE

**Will Stephen Harper's majority-or-bust strategy pay off?**

BY JOHN GEDDES

**B**y the unofficial rules of Tory campaign etiquette, as it's down in recent elections, it should have been a disaster. Caught in a masterfully orchestrated political trap, Stephen Harper, apparently believing he was predestined to a landslide victory, had chosen to do his best to ensure that his party would win a majority. The Prime Minister seemed to be ignoring lesson he learned the hard way—about overreaching the M-word, let his avoid power hungry and start off among voters.

In the 2004 campaign, his remark that Conservatives were "edging closer" to majority was enough to push them back into the arms of the Liberals. In 2006, he tried to reassure voters that a Tory majority would be a temporary regime by saying that Liberal opponents and servants and judges would hold him in check. By 2008, he was taking voters direct approach: no sooner had he called the election than he predicted a tight race resulting in a safe majority.

After all that, for Harper to be seen talking so categorically about a majority sug-

gested a game-changing strategic shift. The observation that he was merely caught out in the Sea by a counter-turing up—or, if you prefer the current lexicon, a public relations—doesn't wash. He avoided categorical rather than evasive: "Let me be clear about that," he said. "We need to win a majority in the next election campaign." And Harper didn't frame his remarks as shade for the reason, best-case scenario, after leading the Tories to victory was "in reach."

In fact, his new majority language wasn't entirely new, just more emphatic. Last fall, after he suspended Parliament in a move being defeated by a coalition of Liberals and NDP, supported by the Bloc Québécois, Harper told Marilise Lebel that he felt that "if we had an election today somebody will have a majority because it will be either Canada's Conservative government or the coalition."

A welcome string of elections has reduced the previously dire views of recession. Once widely seen as a way to compel parties to cooperate for the good of the country, they are now regarded as a prescription for endless procrastination that undermines a national clear governance was last fall's coalition experiment between the Liberals and NDP, backed by like Québécois support that was deeply revered outside Quebec.

Given together, these two developments give Harper his opening to cast a drive for majority in terms that don't necessarily reek

of hubris: utterances strongly suggest there's nothing accidental or improvised about the finely talk about running for our right control of the House of Commons; government, partisan opponents, and experts on Canadian elections all see a continuation of focus—some don't even develop more deep seated—driving the new messaging. It's the change in tone that draws attention to Harper's gamble in openly planning for a majority, a rare Conservative shift in strategy appears to underpin the pitch—a bid that could even amount to a permanent change in the Canadian political landscape.

**T**he most obvious factor driving Harper's majority talk is the worn-out phrase of return repeatedly called to the polls. A welcome string of elections has reduced the previously dire views of recession. Once widely seen as a way to compel parties to cooperate for the good of the country, they are now regarded as a prescription for endless procrastination that undermines a national clear governance was last fall's coalition experiment between the Liberals and NDP, backed by like Québécois support that was deeply revered outside Quebec.

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HARPER SEEKS to become a decisive figure, strong notes, the longer he's in power

of a crass partisan power grab. It's not so much that Conservatives deserve unfettered power, it's that the people should be spared needless elections, and the country needs presenting from "ideological and social." It's a plan for stability, not Tory hegemony. His predecessor's advertisements are actually aware that he might be onto something. "After all three repeat elections, some Canadians are saying, 'It's time for a majority government,'" says Liberal MP John McCallum. "Whether it's Liberal or Conservative, a smaller excess."

Last fall's divisive coalition episode in Parliament made it possible for Harper to sharply contrast himself with his rival minority. Not only does a Tory majority

from Gilles Duceppe and Jack Layton. In such Sea, Marie, Harper said Ignatieff would, if he's allowed to live, hand a coalition "prepped up by the socialists and the reformists." Even though Ignatieff has categorically vowed not to reconstruct left-liberal confine, Tory pre-campaign literature aware of having "the real option to re-enter the Liberal-Bloc Québécois NDP coalition."

Harper's aim is clearly to neuter the constituency, Liberal brand by association with those more alienating labels—socialist and separatist. Increasingly, he's attempting a role reversal: while he had to baffle the scars from the past, he wants to force Ignatieff to defend himself since charges that his behaviour is extreme elements that this entails a double gamble for Harper. Firstly, he can't keep valuing the Bloc, which risks further undermining his appeal in much of francophone Quebec, where the sovereigntists are mainstream. Secondly, it seems he must attack Layton relentlessly, possibly driving down NDP support, with the strong chance of those voters migrating to the Liberals.

He hasn't always been nearly so rough on the New Democrats. Back in 2005, when asked about how he hoped to keep his first majority intact, Harper coolly urged out Layton as the opposition leader. He added with "more respectability than others." Layton disputed that claim. In his fall campaign, during the French language leaders' debate, the Prime Minister praised the NDP Leader for her work on issues like crafting a government apology for residential First Nations schools. "She's nice," Harper said to Layton, "and I do appreciate that."

But the political culture that emerged so soon after these bold words were spoken clearly made New Democrats more dangerous than useful to the Tories. It's a party of hard-line left-wing ideologues, and former minister Jason Kenney, a key Harper campaigner, in a recent mail-in interview, "I'd like a moderate, centrist party." So much for Layton as an honest state/citizen.

One reason Harper's cast might be eager to see the NDP marginalized is that sense of shame that would happen before—an proved political. The rise of Mike Harris' Conservatives in Ontario after 1995 coincided with a plague in the form of the previously competitive NDP. Harris' chief of staff happened to be Guy Ouellet, who now does the same job for Harper. While the previous elections have lost the last two Ontario elections to the Liberals, the NDP seems likely to suffer in the future. Power in Ontario, a three-way affair, has become a two-party game.

Even when Layton offered a plausible sup-

port that week to keep the Tory majority alive, or else implement finance minister Jim Flaherty's vote, Harper and his aides forced the NDP into a corner decision. The NDP complained that an email from Lepage to Gruen went unanswered. A Conservative official said, "Harper's stance is consistent: welcome opposition votes in the House, but don't engage in talk that might be construed as干涉ing decision-making."

**B**ut as the annualized factors driving Harper's new majority push can't be the only consideration behind his gamble, the Prime Minister guides himself on being not a short-term tactician, but a long-view strategist. Back when Harper was running for the leadership of the newly-revived Conservative party in 2004, he said his ultimate goal was nothing less than an accountable, for the first time since Sir John A. Macdonald, a "Tory that could consistently win elections." He aimed to replace the boom-and-bust cycle for Conservatives in Quebec with a reliable outcome. "If we're going to win in Quebec only by renting or borrowing other people's organizations, we will never, in the longer term, have Conservative majority," he said back then. "We have to be able to get our share in Quebec."

But that federal premise in Harper's original long game has been, if not demolished, then at least put on hold. After a significant 2006 breakthrough in Quebec, the Tories stalled in the province in 2008, and recent polls suggest no party is likely to win a possible fall 2009 campaign. In fact, holding their current 30 seats will be a huge challenge. It would be difficult to overstate the degree to which taking Quebec off the map is a major building equation for a potential early Harper's plan, but the territorial verities in Canadian democracy.

We know that history better than University of Guelph political scientist professor Richard Johnston, director of UBC's Centre for the Study of Democracy Institute. "It's been 10 years down to 1993, Quebec was the epicenter of postsecondary majorities," Johnston says. "It's porous to institutions like Wilfrid Laurier's 1886 election win, which established the template for future Liberal dominance, and Brian Mulroney's breakthrough through 1984 Conservative victory."

The inheritance of the Bloc's 1993 changed all that. Before the separatist party's rise, Johnston says, Quebec could typically just re-win half of the seats they needed for a House majority in Quebec alone. The Conservatives could reasonably hope Quebec might capture a third of a majority. But the Bloc's sustained electoral strength past perhaps 15 per cent of all the seats in the House beyond the

realistic reach of federalist parties. "Unless the Bloc goes into a rapture," Johnston says, "the assumption that a party with a federalist orientation can extract out of Quebec is the equivalent of about 10 per cent of the seats in the House of Commons."

Of course that doesn't make winning majorities impossible. Jean Chretien proved it can and will do three elections in a row. His formula for Liberal dominance relied on a new leadership: Ontario. Harper's plan when he took over the now-Conservative party was to put Quebec back at the centre of strategy-building efforts. Now, he has little choice but to try something more like Chretien's bimillennial approach. His Tories now hold 31 of Ontario's ridings, up to the Liberals' 30 and the NDP's 17. The latest poll suggests Ontario's bounce for the Conservatives, though not a Chretien-like sweep, is far from out of the question.

Thus ends the insulated polling firm that gave Conservatives support in the most populous province at 46 per cent, up from 39 per cent in last fall's election, compared with 36 per cent for the Liberals, up from 34 per cent in the 2006 election. The NDP was down modestly to 18 per cent from 28 per cent in October day.

That's against a national background of 39 per cent of decided voters for the Tories, well ahead of the Liberals at 18 per cent, with the NDP trailing at 9 per cent. "The more we give [a]咄咄逼人 campaign, the more the Conservative numbers move up," says John Wright, senior vice-president of Ipsos Reid Public Affairs. "And where they're moving in the direction."

Wright added that the water talk of a Conservative majority hasn't noticeably piqued Ontario voters. "It was brought out in the open," he said, "and watching the numbers move this week and last week, Ontario is getting more comfortable with it. People are fed up with a continuous state of minority government."

Bull Shit! Soaring confidence about the notion that the present status as party support really benefits the Tories. The key variable is that need support for the NDP. Back in 1993, the divided right helped bring in a clear-cut Chretien majority. Since the right's second division, the Conservatives could reasonably hope Quebec might capture a third of a majority. But the Bloc's sustained electoral strength past perhaps 15 per cent of all the seats in the House beyond the



"YOU MAKE IT about Tories vs. this coalition," says one Conservative strategist

## POLLS SUGGEST AN ONTARIO BOUNCE FOR THE TORIES—THOUGH NOT A CRETIN-LIKE SWEEP

the most likely scenario. "If there's any implication in the NDP side, it's not going to be to square Harper's majority; it's going to be to throw up the Liberals," he says. "Where is Harper going to get the additional support he needs for his majority?"

That's a powerful observation. It makes the Tories' newest shift to mass-had-having attacks on the NDP appear to go against their own interests. However, that's also how they're looking at the party dynamics. Instead of leveraging the old view of a splintered opposition, Harper now sees them in a single coalition or whatever. In other words, voters in English Canada are asked not to think of a spectrum—Conservatives on the right, Liberals to the center, NDP on the left—but rather either/or choice: the status quo over the right Tories against all the chaotic, left-leaning others. It's a world of Conservative dominion, the familiar, easy-to-swallow liberal narrative readily formulated and distributed until it's unpalatable. "You make it about Tories vs. this coalition," says Powers.

That's the Conservative interpretation of the Bloc's 1993 changed all that. Before the separatist party's rise, Johnston says, Quebec could typically just re-win half of the seats they needed for a House majority in Quebec alone. The Conservatives could reasonably hope Quebec might capture a third of a majority. But the Bloc's sustained electoral strength past perhaps 15 per cent of all the seats in the House beyond the

PHOTO: ANDREW HETHERINGTON

Another reason Tories might want to postpone an election is if they feel that time and sufficient economic recovery are on their side. Even though the recession of 2009 was putting to some sectors, especially manufacturing, a dent, they're up to the dire warnings of an impending depression. "Ottawa was the worst hit during the recession," Ipsos Reid Wright says, "and it's starting to come back. The Conservatives might just want to postpone a little." And he points out that the government's well-known signs of when voters are asked when they'd trust an economic management.

If Conservatives see reason to be patient, Liberal's have grounds for warning to nail blagger as quickly as possible. Engaged for office, nor opposition, the Liberal party tends to succeed through success. "They appeal in their ability to manage the file, particularly on national unity and immigrant incorporation," Johnston says. "But you have to be in power to manage these files. The longer you're out, the weaker the management argument becomes—people just haven't seen you do it."

Meanwhile, Harper's long-suffering tenure as 24-Superstar seems to be making him a less divisive figure. This week the polling firm Nanos Research released a survey in which he was rated the most trustworthy leader, at 51 per cent, with Harper and Layton far behind, tied at 16 per cent. "People don't love Harper, but they don't hate the same disdain for him that Liberals think the public possesses," Powers says. "He's had everything thrown at him and yet there is community to his leadership number."

When you're ahead, consistency sounds good. But unusually holding its own so long enough for Harper. He has run three national elections now, losing one and then winning two reelections. After watching the Liberals' triumph for an Iraq, Tories were curious what power in any form, even if only given day in the House, they received at least one opposition party's support to hold it.

Nine times, though, a majority might not be enough to stave off Conservatism. They've had the wind of majority in their sails more than once. In last fall's election, the widely watched Léger Institute for the Study of Public Opinion and Policy Model for combining polling results with seat counts predicted a Tory majority with a two-seat buffer despite the fact that they might reasonably expect to surpass 49 per cent on their own first tally out. Raising concern to the hopes of getting a grand during the race, however, is the consistent track record in elections prior of the have-a-winning party at the outset losing ground, or at best clinging to its previous peak of support.

# A NEW TORY STAR?

Celebrated diplomat Chris Alexander may take a run in Ontario

BY JOHN GIDDINGS • The star candidates who are crossed out before fiscal reform is enacted tend to work in one of several typical roles: lawyer, professor, business executive. But the Conservative party might have a new recruit for a campaign this fall—or whenever the next election comes—whose résumé reads more like an adventure story.

Chris Alexander is arguably the most celebrated Canadian diplomat of recent years. Just 41 years old when he took over as Canada's ambassador to war-torn Afghanistan in 2003, his youth, idealism, and a career streak of daring decisions made him a star of the media attention. Alexander succeeded to become the UN's acting secretary general's deputy special representative in Afghanistan, spearheading peace in the country before coming home recently with his wife now, former Senator Amy off-duty Hildy Simpson.

In an eerie exchange, Alexander said it wouldn't be "premature" to announce anything about his plans this year. However, Adam Lobsien, chief editorial writer for the Conservative association in April, peddled a tall-tale just east of Toronto, and Alexander has entered the constituency seven times and is expected to win the Tory nomination there without a fight. "He certainly has quite a lot to offer," Lobsien said, "as a candidate, as an MP, and one day, as a senator."

But Alexander will need to win a third first. The voting is currently held by Liberal MP Mark Holland, who won by 1,200 votes in 2006. That's why it's odd that he has \$1,200 in money in 2008, but he remains a formidable opponent. Holland is a scrappy former politician, having played in local politics. The contrast with Alexander—Toronto-born, Oxford-educated, and an unabashed Karl Rove—couldn't be sharper, making the political battle between them distinctly ripe with snark.



ALEXANDER became ambassador to Afghanistan in 2003



# CANADIAN DEMOCRACY IS BROKEN

**But how to fix it?**  
**Columnists Andrew**  
**Coyne and Paul Wells**  
**debate the question.**

On Sept. 21, Maclean's will present a round-table discussion on the subject "Our Democracy Is Broken: How Do We Fix It?" at the St. Lawrence Centre for the Arts in Toronto, to be broadcast live nationwide on CBC. The public affairs channel, CBC, will feature former NDP leader Ed Broadbent, former prime minister Brian Mulroney, former cabinet minister Ralph Goodale, and author John Ralston Saul. Maclean's columnists Andrew Coyne and Paul Wells will host the evening.

To get things started, this week they discuss what's wrong with Canadian democracy.

**Andrew Coyne:** Paul, the title of our book shows up in Toronto on the 21st as "Our Democracy Is Broken." That might seem a bit presumptuous, even over the top. Surely "Is Our Democracy Broken?" would have been more, um, Canadian?

But the more I think about it, the more it strikes me as apt. Historically, is there anything about Canadian democracy that isn't broken? Except when nothing, perhaps, that have been reduced to leadership roles, a permanently deadlocked Parliament, record low turnout, and everything in atmosphere of cynicism, cynicism and needless partisanship. And that's the good news! The impotence of ordinary folks, the impotence of Parliament, the near dictatorial powers of the Prime Minister if we are writing about a Third World country's welfare state, we would be careful to refer to the "largely consistent" Parliament and "sharply divided" elections. Only those of us from applying the term seems here.

Or, should I mention our appointed upper house?

I assure you, feel much the same as I do

to my question to you off the top is: which is the want of Canadian democracy many flaws? Where should we start?

**Paul Wells:** Andrew, I'm sure the House of Commons is the worst of our political karma, but I find it's harder to stay at the centre and work outward. And the Canadian centre clearly can't hold. At least in developing countries you run into the occasional "heavily consensus" parliament. Consensus implies some element of decorum, at least. If it were wise to become unanimous, it would be a step up.

Take Monday's lapses. Jack Layton, the NDP leader who has voted against his government at every opportunity, was suddenly leaning the other opposition leaders about "fixing Parliament's role," (Brian Topp, his best strategy, arranged to clash with a straight face that Layton "doesn't run with the opposition crowd." This would be the same

Jack Layton whose party has never governed. I mean, what's Michael Ignatieff's place when taken Layton's place as the guy who's going to oppose whatever the government does, before he knows what that is?

What's most striking about all of this is that these are officials at public policy think tanks. Layton decided to buck the government because Ignatieff had decided to stay, and Ignatieff decided to drop because he had already done too much bucking.

This is how it's been for years. Ignatieff wrote a column arguing that minority governments are good for co-operation and deliberation. What sounded sensible at the time, but I don't see a lot of co-operation and deliberation going on, at least not that's about the goal of better governance. Bachand's the bad question: is that because of the press releases involved, or is there actually anything to be done about it?

**AC:** Tactical manoeuvring doesn't bother me, so much. It depends on the purpose at which it is put. I don't care whether a party votes with the government one day, and against it the next, as long as there's some

ELECTIONS about nothing, election stacking, a Parliament that might be called constitutional, if it were more perfect. That, in short, is what's wrong with as

people might stop gambling and get down to business.

I am looking the cynicism and opportunism you clearly hardly began in the last five years. Our political culture is steeped in it, and has been for decades. That takes away some of the more deep-seated problems I mentioned off the top. For example, do our elections have to be quite such terrible, partisan exercises as they've become? What are we do to fix that?

**PW:** I know you'd like an electoral reform by the year's end. Andrew, for the longest, once typified the whole nation. First, because I always thought of systemic changes, which always seems to replace one set of problems with another set. Second, because reform advocates' attempts to improve their preferred spaces on issues are predictable, are, relatively, just common ("This just puts six notes, put your left elbow on a point, and draw a wide rule").

But last year's collapse weakness made me revisit all that. First, you're right about the Bloc: it's easy to consistently give them more seats than votes, and then get mad that they're there. Second, because when should have taken a defensible debt among parties provided a compelling outrage in much of the country. Voting reforms would force debt-taking into the open. It would at least be honest.

Bargaining had calling a change like that before democracy. What to do in the meantime?

AG: I'll accept that systemic changes are harder to implement, if necessary (but) about these specific elections there are a few unusually practical, achievable changes we could make. One, in the debates. I brought one to a recent paper by the Queen's University Centre for the Study of Democracy, which would make illegal for the Bloc leader to take part and mandatory for the rest. But it's not obvious that we should have state debtors—to take the temperature closer, to allow more time for substantive discussions, to make room for a variety of issues, and most important, to give the media something to talk about.

There's no getting away from it: we in the media do enormous amounts of harm every election, as part of a maladjusted feedback loop with politics. And, frankly, we can't change. we won't stop talking about polls and gates and gerrymandering and so on; it's just that we're compelled to talk about. That something, I suggest, is a series of defaults, perhaps one's we've spent the span of future election campaigns.

That is, in averages a much more forward-looking role for the debate, with the rules



COYNE (left) and Wells will lead a round-table talk on Sept. 21.

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY MCKEE FOR MACLEAN'S

enriched in the election laws, not negotiated at the last minute. And rule one would be all debates to be in English and French, perhaps in alternating half-hours, with most questions in French. No more French-only Quebec preferential.

Other reforms? End the public subsidy of political parties, whether to contribute to a political party or a personal cause, and should remain no. But make voting mandatory: it's one of your very few obligations as a citizen, along with jury duty and paying your taxes. Link impose some sort of U.S.-style disclaimer on attack ads, you know. "I'm Joe Blow and

## HERE'S AN IDEA: MAKE VOTING MANDATORY, ONE OF CITIZENS' FEW DUTIES, ALONG WITH JURY DUTY AND TAXES



THE PROVINCES have been timid on electoral reform, but they may have ideas on other fronts.

I approve this message." Parties say the most appalling things in ads that they could never get away with coming out of the candidates' mouth. Nowhere's an idea why not require that candidates themselves actually voice the ads that appear in their name?

PW: I'm not sure why party funding is a personal choice, while funding the state and deciding its future through voting for one party or another should be mandatory. I actually find mandatory voting an interesting idea, although procedures are trivial and縵ipidly, but it won't totally change much.

More elaborate, on the other hand, couldn't hurt. I thought last year's election was quite good, with no new voting systems. I'm not surprised to hear that formal's endorsement.

No good idea goes unchallenged these days. Hey, who can who could organize at least one good debate round to challenge the broadcast networks? The major print media, *The Globe*, *Le Point*, *Canwest*, *Macleans* and *Maclean's* offered a forum in our paper and website, could do better than the *sunshine*? It might be worth a try.

Finally, we're interesting to turn to the

provinces, which have been timid on electoral reform, for examples of more modest best practices. Does our Quebec's model answer it far better than in Parliament?

**MACLEAN'S** readers say...

Maybe we aren't ready where MP's choose party leaders. But now we have leaders choosing MP's! I understand the opposition Senate—but the Conservative effectively appointed as well, mismatch in candidates we're required to have their names on papers signed by the party leader!

So one part of reviving national politics is ensuring local democracy. That we can't just yet, because local democracy is a joke. In no other advanced democracy that I am aware of are constituents headed by who can suffice off the most party membership, or attend meetings with the most relevant members.

Isn't that an important party matter? Aren't parties private entities? So are corporations. I don't see anything saying there should be no laws governing how shareholder voters are run. Should we impose any less obligation on the organizations that seek the power to rule us?

PW: Ah, Soeta Ursula Münster can act like a mandarin, even in a democracy, because the parliamentary alternative—a coalition—has dubious legitimacy, thanks to the semi-protected fiefdoms. And because otherwise no one has his own party—potential new leaders—can't get oxygen because of leadership selection rules, for those the days you mentioned?

Like you, I buy *Montreal Gazette* Christopher Moore's argument that MPs should select their leaders. There'll be people who call that "undemocratic," as how about then MPs should at least be able to start a leadership race, by declaring in some kind of qualified majority vote that they've had enough of any current leader?

The problem with all of this, of course, is that the one person in Canada with the least interest in changing the system is, predictably, whoever rode it most recently to 24 Senate. But it helps no admit you have a problem, and that's where we'll begin when we meet in Toronto on Sept. 13. I think it'll find a fix.

The irrelevance of Parliament and the importance of the individual MP are both, though, rooted in the decline of the political

### JAN SPEAKS OUT ON THE AFGHAN MISSION

"I think it's important to see that our efforts are not in vain, and where we're helping Afghans people and even children saying that the efforts are in vain—then what they hope for it's very important that Canadians realize that, yes, our soldiers are taking risks, but we are also doing something that is absolutely exceptional." —Governor General Michaelle Jean during her visit with Canadian troops in Kandahar last week.

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# AN UNLIKELY STORY

**Mike Danton's version of events convinced a parole board. But why?**

**BY CHARLES ORR** • An explanation would not be forthcoming. That much was clear within moments of the national parole board's visit from last week to the Blue Jays team—the brain trust in hockey's most unlikely saga. As the former NHL player let out his breath, a reporter waited at the back of the room to get his comments on so much draftiness from the two parole board members at the front. Before the scrum could utter a sound, though, one of the invaders held up a hand. "I'm sorry," said Michael Crowley, smiling sympathetically. "We don't answer questions."

They became Danton's audience of one—during a hearing last week at a maximum security prison near Kingston, Ont., he raised a whole lot of them. From defense lawyers that he "understands his officer," to parole guidelines require, the 38-year-old from Brampton, Ont., offered up an array of memoirs of events, claiming he intended to kill his father, not his then-agent Dave Frost, when he tried to hire a hit man both in April 2002 ("I just wanted to protect the thing I was engaged in," said the shaven-headed Danton). "Obviously wasn't thinking clearly." He went on to allege that his father, Steve Jefferson, had physically abused him when he was a child, and that a sleepless night filled by pressurized information he'd become convinced on that night five years ago that his dad was coming to kill him.

It was Danton's first public accounting of the murder-for-hire plot he hatched while playing with the St. Louis Blues and, to many, the least it deserved from the version U.S. prosecutors used to secure his conviction. Danton was charged with conspiracy to commit murder after reading a contract killer to make a run in his apartment in Forestwood, Mo., where Frost, Danton's agent and mentor, happened to be staying. The hired gun, however, turned out to be a police detective who went straight to the police, leaving Danton to face trial and accept a 20-year prison term. He was transported to Canada last spring to serve the rest of his sentence.



## DANTON'S ACCOUNT AT THE HEARING WAS NOVEL: HE MEANT TO KILL HIS FATHER, NOT FROST

To Niamh Smith, chief lawyer in the criminal section of the U.S. attorney's office in the southern district of Florida, Danton's claim that Jefferson was the intended victim sounds "flat out goofy." "I can tell you this makes no sense, and it's not corroborated by it," he said in an interview. Smith goes to testimony in the trial of Katie Wellsley, a 19-year-old friend of Danton's charged with assisting him with the plot, in which Frost was selected as the target. He also took unswapped phone conversations in which Frost asked Danton outright why he tried to have his killed, Danton, according to court statements by FBI investigators, broke down sobbing during the exchange, saying he had felt "backed into a corner" and understood by his fear that Frost was "going to listen to us."



FROST has a more cynical take on his players, but Danton's attachment stands out

The new account does, however, bear a striking resemblance to a series of events Frost gave after the fact. The former agent has long maintained he was not the target of Danton's clinically conservatively, and once settled on a separate court proceeding that the intended victim was Jefferson. Frost gave the story credence, but after hearing it from Danton, the parole board appeared to believe it whole. "You've provided an explanation for what happened that night that board finds reasonable," Crowley told Danton in his verbal decision, "given all of the circumstances of that night." Even the conditions they attached to Danton's release suggested they saw Jefferson—as Frost—in the more likely target. While he's allowed to speak to Frost by phone, and even meet him if a parole officer approves it, Danton is to have no contact whatsoever with his father.

No surprise, then, that

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- Double time at the gym

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ROGERS

NATIONAL

Danson's new version of events has dashed the presumption that he remains under the spell of the racy visual man from *Barney*. "I'm still there," who coached him to a junior seat were on to become his agent. Danson, for one, described Frost's moment of the master plot as "straight out of Frost's mouth." "I never abused Michael," said Jeff Frost, who blamed Frost for dragging a wedge between him and his son more than a decade ago. "This is all Frost. He's so badly bewitchsed by Diane Frost it's unbelievable. I can't believe the justice system is this country's 16th sick."

Frost did not respond to requests for an interview, but the star's mystical influence he wields over his current and former players is legendary in hockey circles, a loyalty that has survived everything from punches of frost pinching his players in the face to allegations that he sexually exploited them. Last fall, Frost was in town, Naples, Ont., after his son's alleged he overstepped and participated in — or at least sat at a table in — Desroches, Ont., the town where his character played during the mid-1990s. The players were supposed to be the victims in the Cross's case. But they round off by testifying on Frost's behalf, saying their coach played as part as the episodes. Frost, not surprisingly, was required.

Even in this bizarre, however, Danson's attachment to his former coach stands out. Shortly after his arrest, the young player spent more than 1,000 minutes on the phone with Frost, prompting a judge in order end to the conversations. Today, their friendship lingers. Michael Mandelsohn, said his son "lives on Mr. Frost as you might on a family cat here." He conceded that Thomas may have had an "affectionate" for Frost at the time he was arrested. Nowadays, he said, the relationship is "mostly frost-free."

Has the purple board been given a ride? Spokesperson Carol Sparling declined to discuss the decision directly. But she said the board consulted numerous factors when assessing an offender's risk, a process that failed to acknowledge the extent he was convicted of doesn't necessarily disqualify him, nor does the company he keeps to when he gets out.

Anything, it's not as if the board could keep Frost and Danson apart for very long, even if it wanted to. On Jan. 21, 2011, Danson's sentence officially expires. At that point, parole conditions no longer apply. And the young man whose NHL dreams were so horribly snuffed will be free to spend as much time as he likes with the man most unlikely witness before he tries to have renaud. Some things, it seems, defy explanation. ■

## Halifax to fight stinky suit ruling

**BY TOM HENKEMAN** • Halifax former Alderman Willie took up the smell of raw sewage every day for 19 years. "You know what a-t smells like. It was terrible. I had to keep my windows closed. I couldn't go outside."

The urban olive oil merchant had been polluting the lake near Willie's property for

more than a decade, according to court documents.

**Photo: AP**



Willie was awarded \$81,000 for enduring the stench of sewage

closed. But that wasn't enough for Willie. So He sued the city of Halifax, demanding compensation for the years he was unable to enjoy his property. Last month a Nova Scotia court awarded him \$81,000 in damages.

Halifax city council isn't happy, and is appealing the ruling. "It went to ensure that all the evidence has been considered," says the city's deputy mayor, David Houlden.

"We're aware that some corroborating factors that were not brought to the attention or the understanding of the judge."

While he admits that the sewage treatment plant may have been creating a foul smell, Houlden claims the company did everything reasonably could to prevent the facility from becoming a public nuisance. Across the street, local pig farmers also should shoulder some of the blame. They've been dumping animal waste into city sewers, overflowing a system that's only meant to deal with household effluent.

Halifax hasn't been hit for the city's appeal, but council fears that the ruling will restore other legal residents to launch similar law suits. "The question is the slippery slope. If you let the first one through the gate will there be a flood of more lawsuits?"

Houlden says that he has no problem paying compensation—but he doesn't believe the city should have to foot the entire bill. He argues that a concession solution, drawing money from both the city and the private, could be the best way forward. "There's inherent responsibility across the board here," he claims. "Why should the municipality be left to have to shoulder. Some things, it seems, defy explanation. ■

## Sponsorship tell-all book disappears

**BY MARTIN PATRICKSON** • For Les Inscrutables, a Quebec book publisher specializing in irony and often comprising jokey satirical novellas, the project may have seemed deliciously slobbery written by a former member of the Liberal Party of Canada's Quebec wing, detailing the party's dirty sponsorship scandal success. Turns out it may have been good to eat.

For a short time, *Le rouge et le noir: Les secrets d'un parti libéral en Canada* (The Red and the Black: The Secrets of the Liberal Party of Canada), co-authored by Jean-Luc Corbeil, the former director of the Liberal party's Quebec wing, was displayed on the publisher's website, along with a picture of the book's cover. Then all traces of it mysteriously vanished.

No one has come forth to explain this bizarre sounding act. Perhaps it had something to do with the fact that Corbeil is only publicly guilty to charges of fraud and influence peddling. Or maybe the book was pulled because it would have been a major embarrassment for the Liberal party in the event of a full election.

Last week, Les Inscrutables' publisher, Michel Brûlé, told La Presse that the book had been put on the shelf indefinitely. "We wouldn't comment on the story (so after all)." Because of the legal situation in which we find ourselves, the release of the book is hypothetical," he said. He added that he wasn't prompted by the Liberal party to delay the book's release.

As if all this weren't bizarre enough, there's another twist. Corbeil's co-author, Normand Lévesque, says he didn't recognize any of the material that appeared on Les Inscrutables' website. "Neither the side nor the book corresponds with anything I've been working on," he told *Le Droit*.

For now, the mysterious case of the disappearing book remains unsolved. You can pre-order a copy of *Le rouge et le noir: Les secrets d'un parti libéral en Canada*, but there's no guarantee the hypothetical Liberal will sell it to you sooner than to your neighbor. ■



A TRIBAL MILITIA gathers at a military camp in northern Swat (below), a roadside bomb killed 18 and wounded 25 in the town of Mingora.

# THE DIRTIEST WAR

**The Pakistani Taliban  
is broken. But a deadly  
new menace is rising.**

BY ADRIAN R. KHAN

**I**t was cold, wet, heavy morning when Zaid Bibi averted the headless body of her husband. The details are etched into her brain—how could the surge? “My hands were numb behind his back,” she recalls, clutching her son from behind a thick curtain in defiance with her culture’s strict code of uprightness between men and women. “The head was also cut off back there, like he was being held in his own hands.” Bibi pauses as her叙述, her laboured breaths sounds through

the dense fibres of the curtain. She’s never had to recount this story before—no one has ever asked her about it. She collects her worn poncho, the companion “There used to be so much happiness elsewhere,” she says. “Now there is only hatred.” To me, it only looks like my husband died peacefully. I still think about him constantly. I still have big nightmares about his headless body. There is no happiness left here anymore.”

Here is a familiar story in Swat, repeated hundreds of times over by widows throughout the lush valley just over 100 km north-west of Islamabad, the Pakistani capital. Ahmed Khan, her husband, didn’t arrive home from his night shift as a rideaway driver one morning, and remained missing for six days. On the seventh, his brother

AP/WIDEWORLD



received a call from the Taliban telling him no-nonsense and picking the “spicy” body, along with Ahmed’s nickname. “My husband was no spy,” she says. “He was a hard-working man who loved his children. And they killed him.” They murdered him.”

Aziz Ummohamed, Bibi’s brother-in-law and now also the family bypassoperator and patriarch, insists to her story with an ever-darkening look of anger. For the 21-year-old Pathan, his code of honour demands revenge for his brother’s death. From the courtyard of his dead brother’s house, on the eastern outskirts of Mingora, Stein’s town only, he looks over at the verdant mountains of the Swat valley. Somewhere in their valleys, he says, are the whereabouts of his brother. But it’s been eight months since the Taliban returned the body, and he feels impotent.

Ummohamed’s anguished expression defines a rapidly deteriorating category. In the two years since Swat fell under the influence of Taliban militancy, thousands of civilians have been killed, many in the same gruesome way as his brother—but that now the Pakistani military’s four-month offensive has succeeded in squelching the organization that has terrorized and the area, in a payback sense. Revenge is a word you’ll hear after these days in Swat, from the enraged masses of Mingora through the frontiers of outlying villages. Once-pacifist citizens like Ummohamed have turned vigilante, hunting down and killing suspected Taliban returnees in a frenzy of mutual suspicion that has shocked Pakistan’s human rights groups. Because that the military is also involved have been kept safe by ticktockers despatched to portray the long victory as a tame

inglorious triumph of battle against Islamic militancy.

Indeed, the Pakistani Taliban is broken, possibly for good. But a new menace is rising, largely hidden from the eyes of the outside world.

To sum it up, you have to understand what many consider the world’s most dangerous place, a cauldron of tribal violence and clan rivalries in the heart of Pakistan’s Peshawar belt. Here the culture of war is strong than any concept of justice. Revenge, for the Pathans, is justice, and in the aftermath of the crimes committed against them, often by their own people, it is that justice they are seeking.

Commandos have been deployed by the fighting, armed tribal militias have formed to counter the remaining Taliban there, led by locally based men who have the potential to become warlords. The Pathans are turning their guns against one another, in what could easily qualify as a series of tribal conflicts that would endear the war against the Taliban feel like a minor skirmish.

This is now Pakistan’s dirty war. The blood has already left a trail of corpses in its wake, transforming a quiet, arid frontier into a jagged, and further destabilize this already-arrived country that is already suffering in the breach. Everyone is involved, everyone a perpetrator and victim, and everyone wants blood.

According to local officials, 250 bodies have been found scattered around Swat since July; most of them civilians maimed by locals seeking revenge. That makes the actual number is significantly higher, as bodies are often buried in quickly in mass graves, according to local custom.

Strangest of all is the military targeting revenge. “We’ve lost four Taliban commandos,” bodies strung up in trees by the roadside,” says Ummohamed. “When I see that, I feel good. It makes me happy.” Reports that Pakistan’s armed forces were complicit in some of the killings have surfaced repeatedly, though Maj. Gen. Aslam Abbasi, the army spokesman, denies the allegations. “We have nothing to do with it,” he says. “Pakistan comes to us with credible information, with names and specifics, then we come in and investigate. But we have only one or two day surveillance reports. We cannot respond to those.”

On the ground, however, the sheer number of eyewitness account points, if not to an organized program of military sponsored revenge killings, then at least to regular de-ments within the military using the law as their weapons. One such incident showed



Once-peaceful citizens have turned vigilante, hunting suspected Taliban militants



MAJ. GEN. ASLAM ABBASI claims that Pakistan’s armed forces have been “careful” in killing

villages in Swat, 10 km south-east of Mingora, a sparsely settled village. During the height of the Swat operation, locals say, the village, a Taliban stronghold, was raided by army helicopters. “Thus a talib came out of the village,” says Ali, “and a talib was shot dead by our forces. Thus a talib came out of the village, and they were the ones that started firing. The talib was lying across his barap but didn’t get involved in the assault. I saw four aircraft flying out of that helicopter but I couldn’t tell what they were.”

When the attack ended, he and other villagers say the Taliban went and picked up whatever was dropped by the helicopter. “They came to the village again,” teams re-enacted, “and we saw at that point that the objects were men. But they were not from this area. The Taliban displayed the bodies to the crowd that was gathered there, telling us that it is what the Pakistanis every does to own people. They then took the bodies away for burial.” Yousaf believes the dead men were the victims of revenge a few days earlier, as the Taliban had sustained four fighters they had captured. This was the army’s response.

Local authorities are reluctant to investi-



**WORLD WARDED** **Haji** Abdul Qader, the commander of a militia in Ardestan village, takes great pride in the fact that his men are regularly targeted by the Taliban

gate such insidious, it is a military issue. According to Yusaf, however, it is not only the military that is involved. "Sure the people are doing it too," he says, looking over his shoulder at the Taliban, who have no shoulder to make sure no one else is listening. "People are angry with the Taliban, and frightened that if they are not destroyed they will come back." Obviously, the general feeling is that the Taliban are getting what they deserve. But in a society in which the culture of revenge is so deeply ingrained, killing them in the very real danger of reciprocal killings going out of control. "I have a feeling that it could start soon," says Qasim Ghulam Farooq, Yusaf's chief of police. "And that's not good." At the heavily guarded Mazar-e-Sharif police station, seated in front of a plaque listing his predecessor—shot dead in the line of duty because of the drug—Yusaf is unmoved by the accusations of wounded honour. "These people suffered a lot because of the Taliban," he adds. "It's normal for them to feel revenge if they find a Taliban, we will not accept any forgiveness from the people."

The few police force is now the best possi-

bility of officers in Pakistan. It was a necessary step, Farooq says, to recruit men to join the ranks despite the threat to their lives. But how paid did not mean best trained or equipped. Farooq admits his force is not doing much in and the average killings, though he signs short of admitting that any of his officers might be involved.

Instead, he emphasizes how important it is for the people to rise up against the Taliban. Village militias, he says, are the key to Suri, the militia is a new phenomenon. Despite the Taliban army's desire to see more of them, only the first was formed only recently in Galoch village, 21 km west of Mazar. That group was challenged by the Taliban on Sept. 2, three days after it came together. Other similar groups, primarily further south along the border of the Taloqai district, have been forming for the past year, recruited, and in some cases armed, by the Pakistani military. Their purpose, according to military sources, is to be the eyes and ears on the ground, as well as provide a sense of security for local

citizens. But some of them, among the Taliban are sick, have gone beyond that limited purpose, hunting down and killing Taliban sympathizers in their territory.

Since the Pakistani army operation in Suri began in May, the Taliban have been hit hard. They are no longer the unified force that managed to wrest control of Afghanistan away from Pakistan as authorities for a while. But it is exactly that fragmentation that makes the military so crucial, proponents like Farooq argue. Not only is there but throughout Pakistan's Taliban-dominated North West Frontier Province and tribal areas, the Taliban are now a mélange of localized insurgent groups. The killing of Baitullah Mehsud, the one-ranking leader of the Pakistani Taliban, in early August by a U.S. drone strike, highlighted just how divided the Taliban have become. A leadership struggle ensued, at the end of which Hakimullah Mehsud, one of the Taliban's most brutal commanders, was installed as the new leader. But there is a name among Pakistan's tribal communities that not everyone in the Taliban considers Hakimullah the rightful heir. As a result, extremist groups have started naming their own in their bases, and this has thrust local militia to the front line of the war.

Army officials admit this is part of their strategy, reducing the Taliban and their diverse groups by one with the help of the militia. But there is an underlying flaw in this sprawling mesh of the Taliban's leaders drawn from local communities. Kill a Taliban and you are also killing a member of a clan. In this sense, the desire for revenge against the Taliban, and against the militia who confront them, is contributing to the further destabilization of the already tenuous balances that have been in existence for prior to Pakistan's Talibanisation—and raising the password for the type of tragic violence that history shows is difficult to stop.

The first signs of rebellion in Ardestan have already been cropping up. In Galoch, an area still plagued with Taliban influence, locals—only recently renamed from refugee camps further south—have taken up arms. "The men who joined the Taliban were our brothers," says Muhammad Ali Akbar, one of the militiamen. "We know their mothers. That motherlessness in Ardestan was our war with ourselves. Brothers are fighting brothers. We are the most peaceful people. Everyone walked around with pens and books. Now they carry guns."

Shah, as well as other men in his militia, fears for the future of his community. Violent tribal conflicts are not new to Ardestan since the past year, recurred, and in some cases arrived, by the Pakistani military. Their purpose, according to military sources, is to be the eyes and ears on the ground, as well as provide a sense of security for local

citizens—a war between tribes. Shah has decided to be playing out for decades, some consequences, because mistakes, an escalation now appears all but assured. "If I kill someone with this gun," says Abdul Qader Khan, a 47-year-old engineer and father of two young boys, "then my family will seek revenge against us. But if we don't want this, I want my children to grow up and become engineers or doctors."

The reality is that Pakistan has already begun to play this dangerous game. While the nation is collectively held new, and its fighters hopeful that they will not be needed for long, further north along the borders of the Tribal Areas militia that have existed for nearly half a decade in the long haul. They are a case study in the dangers of using grassroots militia to fight a proxy war, funded and led by the dangers they face daily from Taliban-affiliated offshoots and increasingly trained and armed with the tools they adopted at the overseers of the areas under their control.

Haji Abdul Malik, the commander of a militia in Ardestan village, near Dera Adam Khel, a Taliban stronghold in the Khyber tribal agency, is a poster boy for this new breed of militiamen, someone who could accurately be described as a budding warlord. His compound, on a hilltop overlooking Khyber, is regularly shelled by the Taliban, a fact in which he takes pride. He takes that report to the anti-insurgency he has set up on the roof of the compound, and the master he has personally pointed in the direction from which Taliban attacks usually come. "If the army gave us more weapons, there would be no need for them here," he says. "But I have good weapons and I am a Pashtun."

Indeed, Pakistanis have no shortage of terms. The problem is when they turn them on each other. And what happens when the militia, who so far have a common enemy, have分歧ed that far? Mufti Khan's militia currently has links with another militia a few kilometers away, led by Fazilah Unmeshram. Together, they are the power brokers in this area, having divided their respective areas of operations that, for now, they stick to. But they are also related and migrants—Unmeshram admits openly that his men have captured, then executed, those Taliban fighters—and locally worry about what the future might bring. "Before there were bombings and kidnappings that hurt the people here," says one man in Ardestan, requesting anonymity. "But now there is some peace. So yes, you can say that the militia have done good. But we don't know what they will do here in the future. What do you think? Maybe they're after money. Maybe they want power?"

Ahmed, the army spokesman, defends the

Pakistani military's approach for these groups, though he admits that the personnel for them to oversee their units does not. "This is a sustainable phenomenon in the tribal belt," he says. "Pashtuns are known to form these militias when they face an enemy. But they will disband when they lose the support of the civil administration. They only exist because we support them. When we choke that support, they will end."

His opinion may be premature. Men like Mufti Khan and Unmeshram are not about to give up their newfound influence easily, even though political developments in Pakistan are already challenging their power: A 2001 decree by then army dictator Pervez Musharraf, which gave local leaders more sway over the affairs of their districts, is now being challenged by Pakistani politicians who argue that losing so much power in the hands of militia is a recipe for corruption. They would like to see a return to the old system of government-backed tribal administration. But the men who have benefited from Musharraf's decree, like Mufti and Unmeshram, don't have much respect for the traditional leadership. For them, the old system is dead, and they are the future.

The Pakistani army does have reason to respect the militia. In recent months they have been at the forefront of some of the most significant successes against the Taliban, including the capture of Maulvi Gatra, the former spokesman for the Pakistani Taliban. If Pakistan is going to continue to make the kind of progress it has been making over the past few months, it will need these militiamen, because the real dollar of the Taliban is believed to be their father's release. The small, three-wheel motorized taxi hasn't even had eight months since a Taliban fighter's home became a monument to the dead. Inside the house, Bilkhi continues to tell his story. "The Taliban have taken many money and women," she says, her voice cracking with a hoarseness. "I don't want my children to grow up with revenge on their hearts. I want this killing to end." Hidden behind her curtain, that voice will likely never be heard. ■

## Everyone is involved, everyone a perpetrator and victim, and everyone wants blood



**SHAH'S son (left) was left Fatherless by the Taliban. tribal army warlords gained a road**

triply will not work with the Taliban. If you want to get rid of them for good, you have to kill them!"

Which brings Pakistan to a fundamental question: how will they will ever have to get him to leave? And if the answer is a gun, the warning will never be ever! Back in Mazar-i-Sharif, Zain Bibi's eight-year-old son climbs up his father's release. The small, three-wheel motorized taxi hasn't even had eight months since a Taliban fighter's home became a monument to the dead. Inside the house, Bilkhi continues to tell his story. "The Taliban have taken many money and women," she says, her voice cracking with a hoarseness. "I don't want my children to grow up with revenge on their hearts. I want this killing to end." Hidden behind her curtain, that voice will likely never be heard. ■

## BRITAIN... CULLING MARCUS THE LAMB

When it comes time to slaughter farm animals, it's kids who usually pick up a knife. But not in the case of Marcus, a lamb reared by elementary school students in Kent as part of a farming program. Despite outcry from animal rights activists and parents, the student council voted 13 to one to have the six-month-old lamb culled. The slaughter went ahead, but the protesters put the next place-making plan to make amends—in due

## Toking tourists not welcome

**BY PATRICIA TWIGG** • The era of marijuana tourism to the Netherlands for its "weed week end" is coming to a close. The Dutch government is about to start a trial project that will introduce membership cards for tourists eaten in Amsterdam. The cards, required to buy cannabis and hashish, will be restricted to Dutch residents in an attempt to stop the flood of tourists visiting the border city to smoke dope in licensed establishments.

Eventually, the government wants to roll out the license exemption for all 700 odd "coffee shops," according to the ANP news agency. As well, the amount of weed sold at the time without fear of criminal charges.



The Netherlands wants to restrict access to its 'coffee shops'

will reportedly be reduced from five to three grams. The change goes into effect next month, under the country's "soft drug policy," which effectively decriminalized marijuana use in 1976. It was more smaller cafes serving pot smokers, rather than today's big shops, catering to tourists.

These new proposals come in the heels of last year's announcement that one fifth of Amsterdam's coffee shops have to close because they are within 250 m of a school. And this week, two border towns, tired of drug tourists and the resultant crime, are closing their cafes to stop selling drugs.

While the tighter rules will make it extremely difficult for tourists to buy, there are new local laws only for membership cannabis at legal. "We have a problem with European law here; all EU countries demand that should be treated equally," says Raymond Daalder of the Netherlands Drug Policy Foundation. But the foundations say it failed to do so. Instead, the Dutch police dropped it when they thought it was a huge infringement. They were subsequently informed that the crop was hemp, not marijuana, and the university research. ■



Gerrit-Jan van der Flesch, inquiry into the coffee shop has angered some

It might seem strange to learn that those Germans needed to reapply in the civil-war killings are all dead and therefore can't be held accountable for their illegal crimes. It doesn't matter though, ghosts of the civil war still shape the country. ■

## Spain: the civil war lives on

**BY MICHAEL PETROU** • When Spanish dictator Francisco Franco died in 1975, ending almost 40 years in power, everything had to do with the civil war of 1936 to 1939. Spaniards from both the right and the left adopted an unofficial peace of sorts, meaning no agreement to forget. The conflict and Franco's rule had left deep wounds that many felt would be too dangerous to open.

Those decades on, those wounds remain. The war and Franco's subsequent dictatorial reign always lie just beneath the surface. Last year, Adolfo Garcéz, Spain's most famous judge, launched an inquiry to investigate what he called "crimes against humanity" committed during the Franco era. He ordered many years spent in an effort to determine the fate of tens of thousands of Franco opponents who disappeared during and after the war.

Now Garcéz himself is in the dock, facing questions from a Supreme Court justice over charges brought against him by a right-wing group that says he knowingly helped the left to pursue his case against Franco, and that he's been a terrorist and government minister. The process could, in theory, end with Garcéz's suspension. Already, it has inflamed public opinion. To his detractors, Garcéz is an ideological soft-pornist. Last year, Manuel Fraga, founder of the opposition right-wing People's Party, said Garcéz's investigation of Franco was an "exercise at trying to put Napoleon's name in the sun." Garcéz's supporters, meanwhile, claim the war that fought Franco's military uprising and were jailed as a result. It's inconceivable to try a person who wants to defend thousands of who suffered under Franco," Guillermo Párraga, 83, told reporters as he stood outside the court last week to show his support for Garcéz.

It might sound strange to learn that those Germans needed to reapply in the civil-war killings are all dead and therefore can't be held accountable for their illegal crimes. It doesn't matter though, ghosts of the civil war still shape the country. ■

## He's Europe's human rights watchdog?



President Nazarbayev has been cracking down on activists

**BY JEN CUTTER** • For a country set to take over the leadership of Europe's top human rights organization next year, Kazakhstan's recent jailing of a prominent activist might suggest it's not entirely qualified for the job. Human rights defender Stepan Zherts, a long-time critic of Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev's tight grip on power and his government's widespread gross abuses, was sentenced to four years in prison following a court hearing in July that left a pretrial dead human rights watchdog and the trial "diluted to the bone for trial standards," citing the judge's refusal to consider key evidence from Zherts's lawyer and other circumstances in the protest case.

Kazakhstan, an oil-rich nation bordering a Russia and China that has been led by Nazarbayev since 1990, has a history of using manipulated charges or tough laws to silence its critics. The trial this month spotlights on Kazakhstan's attempts to harmonize with Western norms—as it prepares to take over the chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. The position was granted after the country's foreign minister promised in 2007 to reform its media legislation and prevent law, though to date very little has changed.

In fact, there's little incentive for Kazakhstan to improve its human rights record. It's unlikely to be asked to give up the role at the OSCE, and foreign officials continue to stay—Barack Obama's Europa Envoy Gleb Gulyayev was there last week speaking of the two countries' "strong friendship." And Canada and the U.S. have also remained in the country, and set to stay on Nazarbayev's good graces. His 2010? The Kazakh oil field in the Caspian Sea, the world's biggest discovery since 1968, which will make Kazakhstan one of the world's top 10 oil producers by 2015. ■

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Our energy is your energy

# CINDY GOMEZ'S CINDERELLA STORY

**She used to sell office furniture in Toronto. Now she's a Nokia-branded, dancing global superstar.**

BY ANNE KIRKTON • Cindy Gomez is in motion, crisscrossing Los Angeles clubs like Madmen, heading in late August on the back of a big black chandelier. G.O.V. The Canadian singer is travelling with Dave Stewart, who came to fame as the bespectacled guy next to Annie Lennox in the innovative '80s band the Eurythmics. Today, the 37-year-old diva, rock legend and a-singing fashion entrepreneur, songwriter, producer, phoneographer, activist, new media entrepreneur, consultant or costume designer.

All of these endeavors dovetailed perfectly with her current quest: to turn the multi-talented Gomez, with her United Colours of Iberian beauty, into a global, platinum平原人. This isn't the kind of venom any shaking for such Stewart, a Dallas designer, corporate consultant or "disruptive change," and friend of Bono, a known. What makes it interesting is that he's doing it in tandem with 125,000 Indian film-industry colossus Nisha as part of that company's quest to become the world's biggest entertainment media network. The stakes are big, Stewart says in his self-spoken, unassuming, sage-like way. "If this experiment works, it will change the way art is made."

The right below was last one, Stewart is in recovery mode behind his signature dark shades, eating peanut butter on toast and sipping a coffee. The Rock Fabulous Gomez, a 10-piece ensemble, played a fundraiser

stage at the Life Ball in Vienna. Four days later, Gomez performed before a crowd of 6,500 in Japan, where she was introduced to major fans on Disney Fabulous, Nisha's mobile phone game, which also offered free downloadings of her new songs co-written with Stewart. This week, Gomez will be in flight again— to Germany for acting lessons to prepare for her feature film debut in a movie inspired by the Dance Fabulous prime, due to start filming in March but in Singapore next year.

The movie is why Stewart and Gomez are en route now to the West Hollywood apartment of the acclaimed British songwriter A.R. Rahman of *Slumdog Millionaire* fame; they want to hear his Bollywood-style riffs on tracks they'd recorded weeks earlier off the coast of Turkey on the 414-foot yacht owned by Microsoft founder Paul Allen, another Stewart crony. The manager of 2009 has involved much hectoring onto Allen's boat. In May, Gomez and Stewart performed for a crowd that included Queen Latifah and Macklemore.

"Magical" is how Gomez describes the past 15 months. Professionally, her packaging is very Bond girl—PVC leggings, burlesque eyewear, in person, she's fresh, endearing, without pretense, possessed of a ready quizzical laugh. "I just realized this is 'It' this for real?" she says. "I've been writing and praying for this since I was a little girl. But I didn't expect it to happen all at the same time."

Gomez's digital Cinderella story began in Mississauga, Ont., around a quartet of a century ago. When asked about her age, Gomez is characteristically coy. "I'd really like to keep it a bit mysterious so I am not placed in any particular category, just like my music," she says. Her early influences were classical with a Latin influence; her father a Colombian移民, her mother was Colombian heritage. She grew up listening to opera, Bob Dylan, mariachi, salsa and reggaeton. But was popular by the '80s was *Tell Me Why* that she heard at age eight that motivated her to become a singer. There was no money for singing lessons, so her father suggested she practice by singing from the mirror everyday. When it sounded good, he'd tell her, "My dad can't sing to save his life." Gomez smiles with a laugh. "But he has an ear." Her stage debut took place at a Christmas concert in the day care center where her mother worked. Gomez describes performing as "crazy high." "I've never taken drugs, but it must be the equivalent of taking heroin."

Lacking resources or contacts, Gomez did what she could to get a foot in the door—modeling, entering a Miss Latin America pageant, playing the Super Latin Diva on the



GOMEZ in avatar form in Nokia's Dance Fabulous game (left), and on an L.A. rooftop

stage. She then started to teach songwriting. "There's this stigma—she's a female Latin singer, she doesn't have an education," says Toronto sound producer Tom Stephen. He began working with Gomez in 2001. "She had the X-factor," he says. "I can't remember thinking, 'I can't believe she can sing.'" After a capella version of Prof's trademark La Vie En Rose wowed him, he brought in American guitar

star Stevie Salas, who has worked with Jagger and Rod Stewart, to develop her songwriting chops. "She had superstar presence," says Salas, who prides her work ethic. "Cindy is tough. She's no queen diva here." Gomez married record label boss, dubbing it pop, techno, dance and hip hop. Early on, Stephen nicknamed her as "Jennifer Lopez meets Cindy." It was her potential to be a broad. In 2005, in a move that foreshadowed Gomez's Bell and Rogers to try to forge a marketing relationship, Rogers (which owns Macmillan) expressed interest, he says, though discussions never went far. Bell was more interested, but talks ended when it became the takeover target of BCE.

Gomez solidified on writing songs, traveling to the U.S. to record, and playing charity events and awards shows while working temp jobs. In 2007, she took a full-time job as an account manager at an office furniture company. That fall, the specialist for George at Montreal's Olympia Theatre, where a news paper reported the took the stage around midnight in silver short shorts, blazer and bustier before a "well-heeled crowd." She was stalled, she says. "Nothing was selling. I was frustrated. I knew I couldn't just stay in Canada—I had to move to New York or Miami or something."

In November, she was fired from her day job, an event she calls a blessing in disguise. "They said, 'We feel you have your music and that's what you should do,'" she recalls. She drew on her faith in positive thinking and visualization. "I was into *The Secret* before *Open Your Heart*," she says.

In late January 2008, Stephen received a call from Mike Bradford, a manager and producer Gomez had met with in N.Y. who'd worked with her for five years. Bradford had thought Stewart would connect musically with Gomez, but wanted to wait for the right opportunity. That arrived when Stewart's orchestra suddenly needed a backup singer for a few shows he was doing with Ringo Starr that included a gig on Larry King Live. Gomez remembers her assured reaction. "Oh my God, it's a band!" She didn't know all of their music, she admits. "But I knew a Beatles or a Beehive," Bradford added if she was free. "And I said, 'Well, let me check my schedule.' She laughs. "And I said, 'Of course I'm free.' And then he says, 'You have to perform four or five songs.' And I said 'I'll do whatever it takes. If I have to pay royalties well, don't pay me my royalty. Just work it out!'"

She met Stewart backstage in the Larry King Live green room. After a few performances, he was impressed enough to invite her back to the recording studio he shares with Glen Ballard, a termite whose spirit helped

the White Room that contains a white piano and Granatius' long, lacy legs of a star descending from the "Hollywood" sign. Ballard and Stewart were working on the score for a stage adaptation of the movie *Ghost* and needed a singer for the title. Mouse just "had to see the movie, which means a movie to L.A. She instantly, "I never thought I could live in L.A., I was always afraid of such qualities," the stage "but that's the life I fell into the right family. As soon as I met Dave I knew."

Granatius has evolved into Stewart's protege and current muse. The two began writing songs together before granatius' "sheer phenomenal theatrics." "When I play and she has no idea of where I'm going to she naturally goes wild." Heraka began playing guitar, heraka replaced piano with guitars and musical theater in which she's an fully shielded—one of which will be her upcoming CD on Interscope/Geffen/Atlantic Records. "They both opened something to each other," says Stephen. Granatius initially wrote them; they had before they started writing together. Stewart asked her, how she'd ideally fish out her professional entourage? "I said, like songs that touch the heart—emotional, real, anchoring songs." And I told him I wanted to hear a James Bond girl—cool and sexy and veryassy, not too risqué." Stewart had just given an interview to Honey in which he was asked what advice he'd give an aspiring musician. His answer: "They should wear a PVC corset and heavy make-up or their should sing very seductive songs just with sensitive power." A plan was hatched: Stewart called a friend in Canada to make her a PVC corset. Stewart, fitted an average value of Granatius' singing at Nola with "Empowered by Nola" at the bottom. Nola didn't understand it first, he says. "I told him, 'Did we do that?' I told them 'No, not yet, but you should!'"

Stewart's relationship with the Hollywood girls date back to 2008 when he and Tom Dwyer, now executive vice president and chief technology officer, met at the Consumer Electronics Show in Las Vegas. Stewart was enthralled in the company's "charge spirit" to provide a portal to pop culture, fringe communities, and beyond. "He's the guy," says Chomper. Certainly, few people immerse the worlds of music, art, politics, film, the arts, and technology with the same two-degrees-of-separation as Stewart. A typical conversation is peppered with offhand refe-

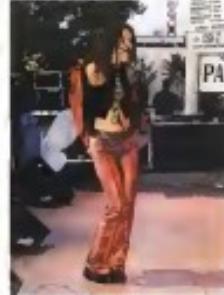
reces to Yoko Ono, Debralee Scott, Dennis Hopper. His 2010 wedding to photographer Anoushka Flux was officiated by Deepak Chopra, with whom he has a recording business. He's writing an album with Foster's first lady, Carla Bruni. Chopping about articles he has for stock market traders for YouTube advertising, he usually mentions obituaries, a prospectus ad naming Keira Knightley and Isabella Rossellini.

In terms of technology industry, Stewart has long been a maverick, producing hand-made software for the iPhone that paved the way for the forthcoming American break-out. But the days of MySpace are long over, as is studio control, he says. "The fence is down." The future is to be seen in open platform and open source, a format mimicked by Nola's corporate culture. In notes: "They escape

age and record with the Grammy-awarded winning hip hop artist's signature sound. Nola is busy seeking exclusive content for its Own Store, the spinoff platform's answer to Apple's iTunes and App Store. (Take with Bowe to get 10 to release its new album in it didn't pan out.) The company is working on deals to offer movies and TV downloads as well as on collaborations with Spike Lee and Harvey Weinstein Tim Krueger. Stewart has been a key point man, bringing Nola together with record and media executives, as well as directors like Jon Lomber, and established performers like Jagger, whose daughter Georgia May is dating Nola's son, Oliver Jones.



STEWART, GOMERA IN VENICE (ABOVE); AT THE CNE (AFTERNIGHTS), AND IN MILAN IN 2009



age sharing." They aren't saying, "What's our cut?" They buy me the hair."

And a huge success: Nola is the world's biggest cell phone company off-year, with more than 1.5 billion customers in more than 120 countries, or as Stewart puts it, "the largest cheerleader network in the history of mankind." Last year the company sold 472 million handsets, the vast majority of them in India and China. It also dominates the global mobile phone market, though it's almost declining in the face of increasing demand for Apple's iPhone, RIM's BlackBerry, and the new Palm Pre. In the first quarter of 2010, Nola's revenue per user share fell to 42.2 per cent while Apple's rose to 48.6 per cent.

Rebecoming the world's biggest start-up, most company representatives claim Nola has to play serious catch-up with Apple, which is constantly breaking ground, just last week it launched its App Store, as app developers users

Jagger is part of Stewart's "multi" band Super Heavy, a collaboration between Stewart, Jagger, Jon Snow, A.R. Rahman, and Bob Marley's son, Damian, expected to premiere on the Nola network.

A few years ago, Stewart recommended Nola pair with British pop star Katy Perry (she credits him with inspiring the writing behind the hit song "Roar"). Stewart and a Girl, but the company passed. "When I sent the thing with Cindy a year later they said 'Let's do this,'" Stewart says.

The company has been developing a close

PHOTOGRAPH BY CLAUDIO MASI

## With today's healthcare, is an apple a day your safest bet?



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finds a Nokia cell phone, starts playing the game and sets out to become a one-woman rock-and-dance concert hosted by Gomez's phone. Exactly how Gomez will exploit such exploit-proof user placement is unclear.

Financing is being handled by Hyde Park Entertainment, a Hollywood-based production company. Gomez thinks of it as a personal mission, says Hyde Park CEO Adiab Amanee. "She has a terrific look and great voice."

Stewart is already looking ahead to the next Gomez

## GOMEZ SINGS IN EIGHT LANGUAGES. HER DANCE PHONE GAME WENT LIVE TO 200 COUNTRIES.



GOMEZ with Gwen Stefani in L.A. last week, in the James Bond-style music video for her debut single *Again & Again*

Fabulous is iteration, admit certain平原者 to contact with her. "Gomez would, for instance, could offer concert tickets, send messages, provide an instant version of a song. That, he hopes, will lead to increased transparency as artists can follow their fans more, measure how many people watched their video or film, review download patterns and fund projects in development." It will offer management to monitor new releases

Nokia also heralded Gomez's success the week after to promote the game, they played small versions in Paris, Tel Aviv, Milan, Helsinki, and Rome. Salas went to meet them at Toronto's Spoke Club. "It was so proud of her," he says. "To see the years of working and trying so hard and people not responding. If it was the head of Warner in Canada, I would have signed her on the spot. To see her with a superstar like Gwen Stewart, it was like, 'Right on!'"

Stewart has spoken to Gomez Fabulous into a concept for a feature film he calls "a little *Lady Macbeth*, a little *Shrek* and *Wilow* cross," bringing in Academy composer John Williams the story about a boy on Earth who

because there has always been this fragile food chain and a new-to-27-month wait for payment," he says.

Music is only one income stream, says Stewart, who notes up to Dr. Dre's made more money on his "Dr. Dre Headphones" than any movie he has produced. Gandy Gomez branded product is in the pipeline. In October, the Gap will launch a Fly brand video recorder with Gomez's image as part of its charitable Fund for Education. Gandy Stewart's focus for compilation, it's likely to be dedicated to his new Rock Fabulous Clothing line, a partnership with designer Christine Audigier. One of the items in the collection is the "God Wants Me to be Sexy" T-shirt, which is also the title of a Stewart/Gomez duet bass song. Stewart also has big ideas for videos that would feature Gomez with women of various cultures. "It would be great to show a Muslim woman in a burqa singing God Wants Me to be Sexy."

On the question of possible Gomez crossover or her being seen only as a Nokia product, Stewart is vague. "These are old world-enterprise," he says. "It will all roll out over time."

For now, Gomez is delving into a life she never imagined, which still can take the rare unpredictable, spontaneous moment. Stewart recalls the story of going to dinner with Gomez at Patisserie Gaspard. They struck up a conversation with an American couple celebrating an anniversary, one of whom happened to be an executive with their record label. As a gift, Gomez stood up, and began singing *La Vie en Rose*. "There were a thousand people in the restaurant," Stewart marvels. "That really takes a lot of guts. It was Paris." A hand slowly fell over the huge moon, he recalls. When it rose, everyone stood and cheered. Her boss at the office furniture company had it right. ■



### WOMAN CATCHES HER OWN IDENTITY THIEF

Michele McCannbridge was working at a J.C. Penney in Seattle when a woman walked in to open a new credit account—in McCannbridge's name. The woman, it seemed, had stolen her identity, tallying thousands of credit cards on her name. She was arrested along with several others, who police say intended at least 300 people. "Out of how many regulars she could have gone to, and she had to leave twice," said McCannbridge, 23. "It was nuts."

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# ECONOWATCH

STEVE  
MACCHI

There are many signs of rising confidence in the industry, from the return of real estate building wins to new equity offerings and takeover deals. But the surest sign of an economic spring is that debt is rising again.

This month's issue has good news. The total debt under fire in the hearts of millions of Canadians. After all, we spent the past 10 months paying off our debts and saving more. It is what you want to do in the first place, and if there was one positive that emerged from the Great Recession of 2008-09, it's that it forced a massive worldwide cutting of toxic loans from the system—a wise winter warning for the world economy.

That will all come to a point. For decades, much of the world labored under the happy myth that all loans were good loans. It doesn't matter if Sally Jones is unemployed with no savings. She can get a two-year mortgage because rising real estate values will always protect the principal. And besides, financial规划 can make that risky loan disappear from your balance sheet in no time. The ministerial laps exposed all that as the financial sector oil it always was.

Nevertheless, whether we like it or not, we live in a credit-based economy. People, companies and governments buy things with promises that extend their bank balances. Sure following for major purchases has become unapproachable, credit cards are ubiquitous, and we're not about so return to the days when people bought most in cash. If people are spending, that means they're borrowing.

And so, it was welcome news that Canadians had actually taken on almost twice as much new debt in the second quarter of this year as they did in the first three months of 2009. These totals (\$15.5 billion) is new borrowing, \$17 billion of going to newer homes, and are still below the levels seen in the same period in 2008 and 2007, but they're moving quickly in the right direction.

There have been many唱空 predictions from the end of the past year, but if the most powerful lesson is that borrowing should be avoided at all costs, then we have missed the point completely. State-of-the-art advances in "borrower's lender" or "borrower's best" had us all singing Borrow what you can afford to repay. Until you can reasonably expect to repay. Do that, and that security will hold. Otherwise we've simply traded one kind of risk for another. #

## OVERDRAWN by Jason Logan

### GIVE AND TAKE



## THE GOOD NEWS

### Getting public at last

Canada's nine-month drought in initial public offerings has ended. Bell Media Group, the dollar-store chain, is going public on the Toronto Stock Exchange with an IPO that could be worth \$100 million. It will be the third big public offering in Canada in the last three months. The money is where it counts: Canadian and the power company Magna Energy Inc. based on the TSX this summer.

### Big spenders once more

The mighty U.S. consumer is spending again. Retail sales in August rose 1.7 percent, led by increases in auto-related sales.

## THE BAD NEWS

### Help not wanted

The jobless rate in the U.S. is up to 9.1 percent, with unemployment rising to 8.7 percent as of August. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, there are now 14.9 million unemployed Americans, up at 8.7 percent in July. It's expected to decline in August and continue declining into next year.

### Under capacity

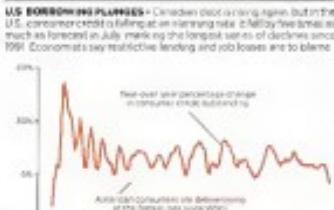
Canadian industries are now operating at their lower level of capacity in record. The rate of capacity utilization fell 1.8 percent in the second quarter—the largest quarterly drop—and is now below 70 percent, according to Statistics Canada. Twenty of the 21 major manufacturing groups experienced declines. The capacity rate is also near its industry's usual output to its potential output.

### Our defining hopes

The Canadian consumer price index for August is widely expected to show separate annual inflation for the third straight month. TD Economics predicts that inflation will remain nega-

## A WEEKLY SCORECARD ON THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY IN NORTH AMERICA AND BEYOND

## GRAPH OF THE WEEK



# BEGGING TO DIFFER

**Local merchants, not social services, take on panhandlers**

**BY RACHEL MENGELDORF** • For residents who set up shop on Spring Garden Road in downtown Halifax, living in business is literally an uphill battle. Thirty thousand people live in the regional centre now compared to 30 years ago. And courses who visit

to Paul MacKinnon, executive director of the Downtown Halifax Business Committee, such legislation would impose fines on those who huddle or loiter publicly, and for repeat offenders, jail time. "We want to make [panhandling] a lot more unacceptable."

That's interesting, not government, driving policy is unique. Since the 1980s, rising housing costs, cuts to social services and devaluation of the Canadian dollar has created a perfect storm for poverty. (A recent Calgary



DOWNTOWN Ambassadors in Vancouver provide directions and private security services.

city's waterfowl count has tripled since 1980 to exceed the 500+ shopping strip. Which explains why, when Spring Garden Area Business Association (SGABA) emerged last year, it sought legal banning from plants from shopkeepers themselves several years ago, he claims. And though his attempts to prevent the city and province to which have been largely unsuccessful, he says, "We've made our own infrastructure to deal with the problem." On top of hiring private security guards to keep beggars from blocking sidewalks, SGABA began paying panhandlers to write the flowers or shovel the snow. Before long, he found them jobs in recycling depots. "We'll give him used soap boxes, gloves, a headband—whatever it takes to get that guy employed," he says. In several cases, the SGABA has even paid the security deposit on an apartment.

Despite these efforts, panhandling persists, it often takes more than a job offer to get them off the streets. So recently, another group of Halifax residents began taking an approach that's less paternal and more stuck a law against aggressive panhandling. According

a \$100 fine for approaching vehicles, or peddling within 10 m of financial institutions, banks or businesses (a third offense carries a fine of up to \$10,000, and those who do offend face up to a year in jail). Moreover, there are no specific panhandling bylaws, but it's illegal to sleep in parks or to be drunk drunk. Though Calgary failed in its attempt to require panhandlers obtain a license (as at the case in a number of U.S. cities), it has a covenant in downtown City, all begging is outlawed between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m.

Since 2006, the Vancouver Vancouver Business Improvement Association has employed private security guards dubbed "downtown ambassadors," in part to address panhandling. Association executive director Charles Gardner says the guards "are not there to provide people with assistance," and, while they may keep beggars off private property, "they have no responsibility to city public property." (Merchants group in Vancouver and Regis also have hired private security.) But according to Pivot Legal Society, the security guards are going beyond their jurisdiction a complaint, scheduled to go before the B.C. Human Rights Tribunal next May, alleges they are discriminating against Aboriginal and disabled people in a post-Olympic push to clean up the city.

Giving the effort and effectiveness of each measure is difficult, because of the lack access for the business community and for panhandlers themselves in often quite different. According to Carter, Canada Research Chair in urban change and adaptation, while there may be an issue in enforcement, making a bylaw is passed, public soon "realize the futility" of forcing someone who is begging to survive. But even if the application is lax, the trouble with bylaws, he says, is that they signal a position, one that creates social welfare. In his study, one of the 15 panhandlers Carter interviewed said he was leaving legislation behind. On Whistler, where, if passage regulations were enforced, large areas of downtown would be panhandle-free, those in a shift to the welfare of panhandlers as their only hope.

For his part, Staudt is torn about the push for legislation in Halifax, though he supports the move. "On the surface," he says that word, "it sounds like a good idea and it would help end homelessness and mental health issues more effectively." However, "Who's responsible for it? Who's going to legislate it?" Under the table?

## TORONTO RESTAURANT FACES MC LAWSUIT

McDonald's recently lost an eight-year legal battle against a curry restaurant after a two Malaysian court ruled that McDonald's could keep the "Mc" in its name. The loss hasn't discouraged the chain from going after others, like Toronto's McPakie's. Looking the hands to fight McPakie's, owner Alfred Salter has McPakie's filed a "Mc-Exile" lawsuit. Though McDonald's owns McPakie's in a big Mac, at least he will not violate Salter's leasehold for a big Mac.

WHO'S SWING WHOM

PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES LAMBERT

## IN CONVERSATION WITH MACLEAN'S

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# Incontinent on the Continent

A trip meant to heal old mother-daughter wounds proves trying

By JULIA HORTSMILLER • Jane Christmas sometimes in high school carried the painful secret that she and her mother didn't get along. Other girls' mothers "were their best friends. I could never tell them," Christmas said in a phone interview last week from her home in Hamilton. "When everyone was saying all these glowing things about their mommies, I thought, 'Why don't I have that kind of relationship with my mother?'" Thirty odd years later, Christmas is taking a epic road trip to Italy with her mother, surprised. "She was always critical. She had a harsh way of dealing with me," Christmas said.

Two years ago, an opportunity arose to take her widowed mother to Italy for six weeks. "One of the things Moen and I discussed when we first planned this trip was to use our time together to air past grievances and come to an understanding and acceptance of our family past. I had asked her to come up with three things about me that had galled her over the years. I said I would do likewise about her," she writes in her new memoir, *Breakfast on the Continent: My Mother, Her Walker, and Our Grand Tour of Italy*.

One night, in the medieval town of Vicenza, "without batting an eye," writes Christmas, "she swapped open her purse and pulled out a piece of paper—and plunged right in." "Your choice of handwriting?" Moen No. 3 to her mother's list of grievances: "You never listened to us. And the result? Well, you made some very poor choices," Christmas writes. "I glanced at the book of love. I was the only one drinking, but it looked like this drama star could outdo the comedies."

Elsewhere in the book, Christmas writes, "She also thinks I'm too scatter— and there is no question that I am—but she doesn't think the words command her to when dealing with me. "You talk any word too seriously," she reads impatiently. "Really?" I reply. "So after you say that you look like a rat's nest, I should just laugh it off?" "No," she snarls in exasperation. "You should go to a hairdresser and do something about it."

The trip was meant to be "part divorce, part deathbed visit." Ten years earlier, Christmas's father had succumbed to cancer. "I just adored my father so much," she said.

"He used to sit by me and tell me stories about his life in Italy. Christmas can't say that she was around when he died. "It was discovered later that her mother's fatigue was a symptom of a serious breathing problem. "She's a shallow breather. If you don't take big breaths and expel deeply enough, there's a buildup of carbon dioxide and you start filling up."

In the end, Christmas finds resolution without airing her mother's grievances about her mother. "The then-pure pleasure I had had to live with Moen in Vic (she was one-sided, and not nice) then had her asked about



CHEMISTRA and her mother went through to Italy a list of three long-time grievances

life for more than 45 years and all of a sudden he was gone." As far as her death, Christmas accompanied her mother to Spain for a three-week guided tour with a group of seniors. Her mother was "tiring to follow," Christmas says now in hindsight, but at the time she did not grasp the full scope of how her mother's deteriorating health might affect their lengthy trip to Italy. "With her I was just pushing a walker." It was stupidly ambiguous of me to think we could go on a tour for six weeks. I don't know what I was thinking."

It was in Italy that Christmas noticed for the first time "a shift with the parent child

relationship." In Rome, Christmas had an epiphany, before a judgment of another child. "As much as I wanted to have it out with my mother, I also wanted a happy peace between us. And you simply can't have it both ways. I had wanted to stay years long, living on old barns, casting chow along like scatter photos so that the bitterness would continue to fester."

At this point, Christmas states, "I reached into my purse, pulled out the small sheet of hand paper on which I'd jotted down my three grievances, ripped it up, and tossed the pieces in a nearby bin."

### GERMANY...GEOTHERMAL EARTHQUAKES

German energy giant RWE planned with its gas-turbine plant—the city imagined might start a renewable energy revolution by slashing the world's dependence on fossil fuels. New earthquakes might have got in the way of all that. A review panel is assessing evidence that the new gas plant (a method of drilling deep into the earth and extracting gas caused an August quake—a claim the company can "hardly deny or confirm."



# FLUORIDE IS ONE OF OUR GREAT PUBLIC HEALTH VICTORIES

**Health Canada wants the levels in our tap water cut. Now the fight to ban it outright is back on.**

BY KATIE ENGELHARDT  
AND CATHY GULLI

**W**hen it comes to fluoride in his community's water, the mayor of London, Ontario, Gord Bradley, has one thing to say: "Better or worse, it's [fluoride] the only one calling the shots." On the other side of the debate is Mike Bradley, mayor of nearby Sarnia, who is pro-fluoridation. The two communities share a water supply—which is fluoridated. And that's where things get messy. "It's been as issue every year since it was put in the '80s," Bradley says. Fluoride debates are old hat here. Sarnia

was involved in Canada's first-ever water fluoridation experiment. In 1945, the city paired with Brantford, Ont., to study the effects of adding fluoride to drinking water. Sarnia was the unchartered control city for 12 years. When Brantford's tooth decay rates dropped, Sarnia began fluorinating too. Today, Bradley says it's time to "put it to the people"—to settle the issue with a referendum on water fluoridation, which would coincide with municipal elections in 2010. He's not the only civic leader making that call.

More than 50 years after fluoride found its way into Canadian tap water, the controversy

has been resurrected. dental health care providers and dentists are lambasting recent fluoridation proposals in the city and municipal elections across. What's more, in some cities, fluoridation equipment is in its last legs. As it breaks down, environmental health experts fear contamination at the source. In Guelph, Ont., the city officials for nearly a year avoided a public/employment confrontation that led to a two-year halt on fluoridation.

Quebec City voted last year to shut off its fluoridated taps while David A. Gruen, a rural sheep fluoridator, lobbied a year ago for his community to end fluoridation, which would coincide with municipal elections in 2010. He's not the only civic leader making that call.

More

# FLUORIDE IS TOXIC WASTE THAT DOES MORE HARM THAN GOOD



continues to do away with that additive. In British Columbia, two fluoride-free cities in Prince George are ringing up their results, following the lead of Vancouver, which eviscerates fluoridation. And in Ontario, Waterloo has set the stage for a plebiscite in 2010 that threatens to make fluoridation a high-priority election issue.

The issue was ignited last year, when Health Canada published a report from an expert panel that advised the federal agency to lower recommended fluoride levels again. Falling targets have been a traditional trend. In the last 40 years, Health Canada's optimal fluoride level has been almost halved. That's partly because we're exposed to more fluoride now—in what we eat and drink, for example—and when water fluoridation was first conceived.

Still, fluoridation is backed by a veritable force of health authorities, including the Public Health Agency of Canada, the Canadian Medical Association, the Canadian Dental Association and the World Health Organization. In the U.S., the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention had fluoridation in "one of the 10 great public health achievements of the 20th century." But no matter how loudly the chief dental officer of Canada, Dr. Peter Couris, espouses the benefits of fluoridation, it's up to each community to decide for itself whether to add fluoride to the local water supply. Even today, less than half of Canadians—about 45 percent—drink fluoridated water.

On the one, communities of every size are weighing those options. Sometimes a short age of "fluoride free" if can even tip the scales. A few years ago, the question of fluoridation was raised in Ottawa when teenagers meant the city had to go fluoride-free for schools. University health officials finally decided not to add it and discontinued it by a number of factors. Since the cost of new fluoridation machines to public wells is the strength of anti-fluoridation lobbyists to which medical information sounds most convincing. In other words, all too often, decisions that have an impact on the health of millions of Canadians are up for grabs.

At the medical and political arenas of water fluoridation debate, (1) dental disease is as much a quarry today as ever. In the 1960s, anti-fluoridation advocacy was often relegated to the domain of grassroots activism. But today, over the head of preventative dentistry at the University of Toronto, Dr. Harry Lachance, has done an about face on fluoridation. Until recently, he supported it. But "now we've got it," he told Maclean's in a recent email, has "convinced [him] once more that a precautionary approach would be what's best considering increasing new

fluoridation programs." Lachance has called for a moratorium on fluoridation "until we've learned about its benefits and safety." The question now is just how much fluoride is too much, but do we need it at all?

**W**hen it comes to water fluoridation, Couris has heard it all. "There is really nothing that people haven't said about it," he notes. "Everything from 'Government plan to implement to cancer to AIDS.' That's why, in January 2009, Health Canada asked a panel of six leading medical experts to examine fluoride in community drinking water, including fluoride levels, benefits and risks."

**CENTRE IN THE '80S WAS A FLUORIDE COMPANY. THEY OPPRESSED IT FOR OTHER REASONS.**

Their review of the 1980s-era fluoride company, which happened when we consume too much fluoride. In an earlier issue, dental fluorosis disorders took center stage. Seven teeth, it can damage tooth enamel, causing pain or chewing problem. Children are more susceptible to these teeth are developing. That's why the CDA urges parents to use only a "pea-sized" amount of toothpaste when brushing, and "swish" for three minutes. More recently, Health Canada's panel took a further step, recommending that manufacturers of fluoride-free toothpastes add fluoride to their products.

Health Canada notes on its website that high levels of fluoride are necessary for prolonged periods, the teeth become a "progressive but not life-threatening disease in which fluorine increases in density and becomes more brittle"—can fracture. At best, this leads to stiffness or sore joints; at worst, it causes deformed bones and skeletal problems, making joints prone to fractures.

In Canada, Couris says we're seeing decreasing rates of incidence of severe fluorosis, but increasing occurrence of mild fluorosis. That's one reason our urging levels were lowered. But Couris doesn't believe mild fluorosis enough of a reason to stop fluoridation, given that its symptoms are largely cosmetic. Proponents of fluoride say there's a "trade-off" between developing fluorosis and preventing a much more crippling disease: tooth decay, which dental professionals say Couris is best known for. "It does more concern than asthma" and "seven times more concern than hay fever." Fluoride, they stress, cuts decay rates in 10 to 20 per cent, meaning that the trade-off is worth it. But isn't the only person who benefits from fluoride, according to Couris, is adults and the elderly? It presents oral cavities and adults much decay by 27 per cent. Decay can lead to periodontal disease, which has been linked to heart disease.

The basis for the panel's recommendation is concern that we gain much fluoride from sources other than drinking water, ranging from toothpastes and dental treatments to cosmetics. Experts on either side of the debate agree on this point. The body can't exist in one without the other, fluoride consumption may cause. Once the latest studies to spark a furor suggested fluoride was linked to a rare form of cancer called osteosarcoma in young males. But this 2006 study has been contested for its mathological limitations, even as the author tried to ward off such accusations. Other can reveal studies ergo, high levels of fluoride may be linked to lower IQ in children and suppression of the thyroid gland.

The issue of these changes are unanswered by medical and dental authorities. The main issue according to Health Canada is dental and skeletal fluorosis, which happens when we consume too much fluoride. In an earlier issue, dental fluorosis disorders took center stage. Seven teeth, it can damage tooth enamel, causing pain or chewing problem. Children are more susceptible to these teeth are developing. That's why the CDA urges parents to use only a "pea-sized" amount of toothpaste when brushing, and "swish" for three minutes. More recently, Health Canada's panel took a further step, recommending that manufacturers of fluoride-free toothpastes add fluoride to their products.

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## HEALTH

Because in Canada fluoride decisions are made gloriously, rational fluorosis and fuzzy rates are scarce. The best information even peers non-fluoridated and fluoridated communities at close proximity to each other. A recent report by health units in Sutton-McLennan, a region of Ontario that largely welfare slaved, found that its population had dramatically worse tooth decay than many other parts of the province. The health units believe the problem would be alleviated with optimum levels of fluoride in local water.

Barbara Molyneux sounds out in Ontario because the province has the highest rate of water fluoridation in Canada: 71.9 per cent

### EDMONTON REDUCED ITS FLUORIDE. QUEBEC CITY HAS CUT IT OUT ENTIRELY.



SOME STUDENTS have fled fluoride to a new centre, but the dental authorities are suspicious

of Ontarians' love to fluoridated water, almost the same percentage as in Alberta (74.7 per cent). But fluoridation is almost unheard of in Quebec (6.1 per cent), British Columbia (3.7 per cent) and Newfoundland (1.5 per cent) – and it's rare outside of North America. So if water fluoridation is so good, why doesn't every community have it?

**T**hat communities across Canada are wrangling over fluoride underscores a political dispute while federal and provincial governments and professional bodies widely endorse fluoridation, they have let it because ever participated. While Coopers' mouthwash's vision, and insurance the insurance of large urban centres like Vancouver and Montreal, says Health Considerations "respect the federal-provincial territorial dynamics of the country." But in turn, those communities are

worryingly at the entry of local activists.

Marilyn Judah, a former teacher, became an activist after learning about fluoride from other residents in her town of Prince George, B.C. Like others, Judah has health concerns; namely, that fluoride causes cancer and lowers IQ. But her critiques are also philosophical in tone. She believes water fluoridation makes "mankind a whole society." So she started the Safe Water Coalition and petitioned city council to end fluoridation.

But Mayor Dan Rogers says he's "confident" with fluoride, and he classified opposition up to municipal charter. "What we're seeing is a nationwide movement inspired by the Internet," he explains. There may be shortcomings in class. When I asked trouble finding support from local dentists, she looked

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**HEALTH CANADA CAN ONLY ISSUE GUIDELINES. CITY OFFICIALS, ACTIVISTS AND VOTERS MAKE THE CALL.**

ONLY A MAJORITY of Canadians have access to fluoridated water at present

they agreed to foot the bill for a new plant. But he says that Montreal, which has never fluoridated, blocked the receipt of those funds. "It was an ongoing little war between the city of Montreal and the city of Dorval."

Quinton agrees that the fluoride fight was a way for politicians on both sides to flex political muscle and assert their place in the community. Eventually, Bill 35 was passed, giving Dorval lead control. But it took until last year for Dorval to put back. The day held "a lonely press conference where we were denouncing the new, divisible, fluoridated water," says Quinton. "It's been bittersweet ever since."

But even when the fluoride question is settled at the official level, the debate can persist. In July, Edmonton dashed its fluoride levels by 13 per cent to conform to the recommendations put forth by Health Canada's expert panel; but then, local MP Peter Kent (Edmonton) reported that there was a memo of internal communications, a stronger one than most, within the Goldsmith's office—one of which stated: "Fluoride is a harmful toxin and the government puts it in your water."

At a local level, though, some communities are turning to popular votes. Waterloo, Ont., will have a referendum in 2016. Waterloo is obviously a brewing town: there, when Mayor Gord Kinsella spoke to Mayor Brenda Halloran, she had just returned from a lunch attended by senior Erin Bradstock, along with Robert Herring, leader of the city's main anti-fluoride network. Halloran reasons that fluoride is backed by all but "a few aggressive activists." Six hours later, she said, "Stop her on the street and say, don't you care that it is?" But Angie Voth, a very conscientious, bald, 21-year-old voter,莎士比亚意图进入the first fully campaigning, because so many people asked her "about getting fluoride out."

Despite the determined efforts of a referendum, Robert Fleming isn't pleased with

Back to Sarnia and Lambton Shores, another mid-size community at the centre of the debate. Lambton Shores mayor Bradley rejects the idea of a referendum as "ridiculous."

A number of towns admit that they're fluoridating without direction. Some, like Elora, who is responsible for Municipal Water Management, argue that "it is not the responsibility of the city of Waterloo to decide on scientific issues." Berardin says he's instead the generator to "assess our public health responsibilities and adapt legislation that will force communities in this nation." Clark Somerville, city councillor in Milton Hills, Ont., whose council is recommending fluoridation, argues, "If it's evidence-based policy consistency," he points out. "If fluoride was safe, then that was that game, you'd think the federal government would mandate it."

the idea. "This referendum comes from the go-go," he says, "because it's not legally binding." Fleming argues that Ontario has laws in a grey area when it comes to either like Waterloo, whose water facilities are shared by a larger region. He claims there is no legal basis for a local referendum on fluoridation. And he means the mayor knows this: "because I just finished educating her," over coffee. "With again, saying a plebiscite would be nothing but a 'public opinion poll,'" but the mayor is categorical: "It is a binding referendum."

**TOMORROW'S DUNGEON PROTECTS AGAINST SWINE FLU**

Aspirin, a flowering Mexican plant, smells so bad it's been called "Mexican dung"—yet it's been used for centuries against pneumonia, whooping cough and meningitis, and it just might protect against swine flu. Used as a home remedy against the Spanish flu during the epidemic of 1918, researchers produce chemicals that seem to be better at fighting influenza viruses than some prescription drugs, Taiwanese researchers found.

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Lévesque embodied  
our bedrock values**

**BY MARTIN PARTITION** • René Lévesque is “extraordinary Canadian.” Even the big gest can make many in this country, not to mention legions of patriots in other Quebec cities, think throughout his political career—and, indeed, even in his attempts to make Quebec sovereign state. Lévesque demanded what are considered bedrock Canadian values: honesty, courage, a commitment to democracy and non-violence. With great selfless transparency and any oppo-

can effectively put an end to a political environment long dominated by graft, fraud and harshly concealed fraud; it has since been admitted, to varying degrees, in several other provinces and at the federal level. Still, the PQ's landmark language law that Lévesque's government offered no exception in 1977, met with near-unanimous condemnation across the country. Today, language remains most largely in the minds of the fringes on both sides, and the wide-scale acceptance of Quebec's French factus

Levesque the human being was much like Levesque the politician: flawed, and soaring.

**LIVREQUÉ** Events enemies diminished his concern with politics and lack of presence along Quebec, tobacco, women—with shareholders, his political strategy was more likely than not to cover all right angles of five electoral districts between the walls of the National Assembly. Quebecois, even in political crises, adhered to him as much for his canny political smarts as for his distinct lack of pretense. In this excerpt from *Aura Livreque*, Daniel Péladeau, a leading Québécois francophone author, traces the changes Canadian烟酒公司 with his friend Frank Estate with red eye who treated smoking and a hangover whenever he was there. ■

# LAUNCH OF A LOVE AFFAIR

BY DANIEL POLIOVSKY

by the mid-1990s, Quebecers, like most other Canadians, had fallen in love with television as overwhelming was the *coup de foudre* that although in some regions now the U.S. border only American broadcasters would cross, bilingual French Quebecers lapped it up anyway. Radio could be used in the interests of small towns at creating their favourite show, *The Adventures of Kit Carson*, speaking in a mangle-up zounds-parlez language they believed was English. That was how it sounded to them anyway.

Four out of five households in the province had a television set. And when the French-speaking people of Canada were able to see locally made, francophone productions, they became a right long virtual family, disseminating at lightning speed of the last news or drama millions of others had watched, indulging in their own actors and actresses they had grown fond of, or, conversely, exposing themselves to the snubs of the English-speaking masses.

He moved to the seemingly obscure *Le Bon Lutin des Pyrénées* à l'heure, which everybody watched for good reason, too: there was only one French-language TV station, Radio-Canada, and it was openly biased that all, and I mean all, francophones growing up in Quebec in the 1950s and 1960s shared a single TV culture.

Here begins the legend of René Levesque. The show was called *Point de mire* (Focal Point) and it was a 10-minute live broadcast, airing on Sundays at 11:15 p.m., and later,

Tarafaya at 10:30 p.m. For many, it was like her compatriot, the much-heralded *Le Meilleur des Mots*, with the fancy wine, equipped with a blackboard, a painter, and, above, explaining the world to French-speaking Canadiennes, talking very fast but unpronounceable words. Let me paraphrase here: "Good evening! Thank you for coming tonight. Tonight, we are off to the Suez. It's in Egypt, the land of the pyramids and the Sphinx. Here on the map is a canal, built by France and British engineers in the last century. You can see how it links up the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. So a very important route for international trade, because, thanks to the canal, ships stopped having to go all around the African continent to take their goods to the Orient, as the other map showed." (He would conclude, with his partner) "Without Suez, the cost of tea from India you probably would never buy, even because it would have to travel much further." *"Tu t'es folle!"* Now, the Egyptians continue to have pharaonic Egypt is now a republic, led by a man they call the Rāid—who means "president" in Arabic—whose name is Hosni Mubarak.

and on he would go. For many years he was a teacher with little schooling. Point de voie became their first window on the world. Nobody really watched, but those who did were enthralled, especially among padrons and all those hungry for knowledge. And in Dupuis's *Journal*, there were lots of them. Thanks to the Radio Canada monopoly, Léonard's ratings sometimes reached 100 per cent: a dream for any broadcaster and now an unattainable fait, even on a day such as Sept. 11, 2001.

To take his turn of punishment, Louisburg had to give up his comfortable job as a bookbinder, with the guaranteed income, pension, and other benefits. But he was now earning \$30,000 a year—more than any cabinet minister, provincial or federal. The real payoff, however, was instant celebrity. Best Living was now the real journalist who could explain the school desegregation in Little Rock, Ark., the violent decolonization of Algeria, or the partition of Berlin and Cyprus. He could not walk the streets of Quebec without being accorded by adoring fans who would stop him to shake his hand and shake his hand. And he was more than loved; he was revered. In the words of novelist and

**REVESQUE'S TV PROGRAM  
SOMETIMES HIT AN AMAZING 100 PER CENT**

Principal commanding officer Jacques Gadbois, who was Quebec's "first lay teacher." Of course, the nuns did not see the man as a never-ready-for-mail and never-retrieved-one-call. Undisciplined but hard-working,

...and finally framing on magazines and news-  
paper in his smoke-filled office at McGill's  
*Faculty Library* to prepare for his weekly tele-  
views with free television. Stripped out, as

would say today, but always focused. The family stayed and never stopped. Lodi had a solid physique, was tall, and moved with ease, leaving a trail behind him all the time, driving like a student on the streets in their town. He was tall, eight polar feet, his skin smoking, fond of sleeping and soldiers on three for apprenticeship at 14 home, never where he was supposed to. It was as though he was living there at the same time.

During those years that he gave Peter the



an Extraordinary Cause  
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## THE BACK PAGES

team

transplantation  
of athletes

media

Will new sets  
save the CBC?

tv

The costume  
detective

design

Who should  
win in Calgary?

film

Toronto film  
festival diary

steyn

Gut calling  
it racism



OPPOSITE PAGE: PHOTOS: GUY LAWRENCE FOR THE STAR; TOP: AP/WIDEWORLD

**It's no fluke that gridiron greats perform like pros on 'Dancing with the Stars'** BY JOHN INTINTI

Toronto Argonauts linebacker Andre Dungey spent up to all-mana workout routine this year. Instead of hitting the weights on Thursdays, the five-foot-nine-inch 193-lb. athlete took salsa lessons at Toronto's Salsa Connection. "It's a lot of hip work, a lot of footwork, and it helps with coordination," says Dungey, who was also looking to get a bit of "sophomore" back after being sidelined by a serious knee injury. Turned out, the direct lessons compensated more for his day job than expected. For one thing, Dungey found that the alignment between him and his dance partners there are certain cues to let him know which way he's going to spin her—something most like those shared between a couple of runners working together on a running route. Dungey also credits his goal-line training for making it easier to pick up some of the quicker, complicated脚work in the studio. "We're always doing different drills with our feet [in football practice]," says Dungey, 28. "So it's almost second nature."

Maybe that's why another sport has been

all

the

right

moves

so well represented on *Dancing with the Stars* as football. Over the years, the show has featured a basketball player, a handful of Olympians, and a couple of boxers, but when its star-studded debut on ABC and CTV on Sept. 21, former Dallas Cowboys Michael Irvin will be the sixth pro football player to make his debut for a pair of dancing shoes. But the hall of fame receiver hasn't been game for it if he hopes to leave a bigger mark than the gridiron greats who have preceded him. Running back Emmitt Smith, Irvin's former teammate and Dallas' showoff, was the big winner of season three. And San Francisco 49ers receiver Jerry Rice (season two) and Miami Dolphins linebacker Jason Taylor (season one) sealed and ch-ch-ch'd their way to several-place finishes. So did Warren Sapp, a 100-lb. full preface, who earned the respect of the judges (and the long-time Tampa Bay Buccaneers' crowd) like a "Lamborghini riding on the freeway" (and the voting audience) by exhibiting the grace of a mass-lethal halfback hit.

Though it's never recommended that a client skip dance lessons, Crever, who works with Tampa, Fla.-based Athlon! Performances, isn't surprised that so many gridiron girls swoon sensually from the playing field to the dance floor. "Football is not feared by acceleration and deceleration, starting and stopping," he says. "A wide receiver never gets off the line and runs straight down the field. He's running, he's stopping, he's starting. Even when a running back gets through the line, he has to use his hips to make their first

effortlessly in a small space and get in the right position," says Ben Crever, a performance specialist who consults some of the game's best.

That cluster of pro players have taken dance lessons—often at the urging of their coaches—to improve their game-day performance is well documented. The most famous pro with over-the-top moves was Pittsburgh Steelers legend Lynn Swann, dubbed "the忌諱者 of football" for his grandeur, a prodigy of having take-balls, up and down passes from the age of eight. But the return of ex-pros on *Dancing with the Stars* seems to indicate something a little different: that football skills and drills may actually help make someone a better dancer.

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WALL-OFF-HYPE running back Emmitt Smith was the big winner of DWTS in season three



but I've been exposed of millions in many other sports, like basketball?" "Yeah, but is it addressed?" says Custer. "In basketball, the court is limited, you're going up and down, up and down. Football is chaotic. Dance is chaotic, as well. You're swishing your partner, doing all the crazy stuff."

There are, my experts, quite a few similarities. Much like dancing, football is all about agility and timing. And even the biggest lags on the field are often on short sets and have a low count of yards, which results in better balance and helps with certain dance moves. As well, football, like dance, which often involves a combination of highly complicated steps, requires the memorizing and then executing of a series of elaborate routes. "Football players are very good at following and implementing instructions," says Custer. "Those guys are trained to grasp a concept, to work as hard as they can at that concept, and



power," says Trebushinsky. "It was almost three hours of dancing." Four took Trebushinsky to a class practice one day to give her a sense of the world he was creating. After seeing the quickness required on the practice field, including the dash in which players have to run through trees, Trebushinsky incorporated some of the moves into their five-quarter rep and cha-cha.

Playing to his strengths and a sense of timing and rhythm he's accustomed to worked to their advantage. Mike Koenig was "class and precise," she says, and he never faltered on the dance floor, covering all kinds of distance. Much like any good Sunday kick in his playing days, when he was, arguably, the most dangerous offensive weapon in football.

But not everything came naturally:

## The biggest thing is their ability to move their feet efficiently in a small space'



THE JOKEY SHUFFLE set off a storm online. (Left) (Right) women audiences and the judges

because they're so adored, pick it up faster than most."

Anna Trebushinsky, the professional dancer paired with Jerry Rice during season two of *Dancing with the Stars*, was a bit taken aback by her first of four partner's shifting focus on a particular move until she got it right. "He told me," says Trebushinsky, "in a football player, you don't have to smile, you don't have to play for the audience!" Another obstacle related to his posture. To properly capture ballroom, says Trebushinsky, a dancer must stand as erect as possible, which is the complete opposite of the crouch position that a wide receiver usually starts in. But that

ball player has a natural advantage when faced with a challenge: a sense of determination and competitiveness that is tough for a former big-leaguer member of an NFL star to match.

Officially dancing became part of pro-shoot football on Nov. 18, 1973. That's when the Kansas City Chiefs' Ron Wright caught a touchdown pass against the Houston Oilers and, thanks to a lot of high-stepping in the end zone, earned the distinction of being the first player to perform a touchdown dance in a pre-game. Touchdown celebrations have become increasingly elaborate since then, but the main favorite of them all is still "The Jockey Shuffle," performed by the Cleveland Browns' Jim Brown during his 1965 rookie campaign, the simple moves—left to the right, a little shift to the left, three hops to the right, before splashing the ball—on a dance craze, of sorts, on playgrounds across North America.

None of that prep-work who hasn't appeared on *Dancing with the Stars* was particularly known for performing a choreographed dance routine after scoring six. "The Angels' salsa dancing shuffles didn't bother with one either." "I try to make it like I've been there before," says Darse, who was a pretty good breakdancer back in his teenage days in Mississauga, Ont. For now, Darse has put his dancing days away. But since the Browns were springing up this fall, he plans to dust them off in the hopes of adding the salsa and the merengue to his repertoire. He says he'd even consider appearing on a dance-themed reality TV series if the opportunity arose at the right time. That, despite the riding he took from his teammates earlier this year after they learned about the dance lessons. "I got kicked a little bit," laughs Darse. "But every time I do something good on the field I tell them that maybe they should think about taking up salsa." ■



# GET YOUR POTA TOES OFF THE COUCH

**PACK-A-PUNCH POTATO SALAD**

Prep Time: 10 min.  
Total Time: 60 min.  
Makes: 8 servings, 1/2 cup (125 mL) each.

**What You Need:**

- 1/2 cup MIRACLE WHIP dressing
- 4 cups quartered, unpeeled red potatoes
- 2 hard-cooked eggs, chopped
- 2 green onions, sliced
- 1/2 tsp salt
- 1/2 tsp pepper

**Make It!**

1. Heat oven to 400°F.
2. Served potatoes in 8x8x2 1/4-inches pan; cover with cooking spray.
3. Bake 30 to 35 min. or until potatoes are tender and golden brown, stirring after 20 min. Meanwhile, combine remaining ingredients in large bowl.
4. Add potatoes to MIRACLE WHIP mixture; mix lightly.

**Serve It!**

Since warm or chilled, we recommend the opposite of the weather outside.

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WE WILL  
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Toronto's Lite Foursquare



EDDLE (left) and Arwood. In the book, Rebecca Eddle is 'discreet.' Arwood told the real Eddle, 'Unlike you, she doesn't tell everything.'

## Margaret Atwood didn't kill me

**She paid to get her name in the novelist's new book, but what would Atwood do with her?**

BY REBECCA EDDLE • I've achieved literary immortality. Sadly, it had nothing to do with the four books I've written or any of my stand-alone newspaper, magazine and blog posts. It was made possible by the woman string across from me, sipping an organic soy latte with honey. Margaret Atwood. Or Peggy Arwood. I'm not sure which one I like more. Margaret Atwood is why I wanted to write. I've read and reread all her books. I send Peggy emails about boy troubles. "My goodness, why don't you just send him a card and he'll sort it out?" (The Toronto Star) Or I'll tell Peggy I was strong by a hair while paraplegic (as Peggy responds with, "Obdurate Public Gas station?") It may not have been a loss. Maybe a swap? There are many kinds. May not have been a honeybee, if one. Did you keep my carpool? Peggy will add my jokes and always signs her emails with "Xox." Not exactly the way people might imagine the women described by me as "among the most brilliant writers of English."

Two years ago, I had \$7,000 in charity savings to have my name in someone's next book. I promised it wouldn't buy shore for two years. [Now, the book is out. Called *The Year of the Flood*, it is by far my favorite of all Atwood's novels.] When I met Arwood at a small telling, I'm loving, she wrote back: "Well that's very nice to hear, could NOT believe you're here!" Atwood had said she'd read me before. I had the book in read was that I "don't do," which is "always good thing."

When the book arrives, I quickly scan, looking for my name. I find it on page 30. Rebecca Eddle is working for a meat, soft drink manager who has a chain called Secretburger ("the secret of Secretburgers was that one knew what sort of animal proteins were actually

in them," Arwood writes). One of my character's first quotes is, "Praise the Lord and say, I'm too black and ugly for her." Then you have it. Rebecca Eddle is no longer slinging snarky and Jewish. Two pages later I read the line, "Worse, Rebecca has done just now, we are known exactly where." Off with some off-gene group, and the street names!

"Well, I thought, she was the queen of Eddle! I had ever spent two pages' worth. Was this what Arwood meant by 'she is not dying?' I just disappear?" But when I meet Arwood for real, she seems to have a bar to say about the character I created after me. (Always read the book before you interview an author!) Five days after meeting Arwood, I actually read the book and see that my name is peppered throughout the almost 500 pages.

I too sometimes think a shock of electricity every time I see it. Thank my source! (We didn't bump into each other until much later.) Then my name! (I helped illuminate!) Then my name! (I did really just say, "Once he's stuck his pole in some hole, he thinks it's his?")

I'm not the first character anyone Arwood has created off the cuff. She's created Anna Payne, in Arwood's novel *Dry*; and Craft, named after someone who was a charity auctioneer in London. Arwood also makes an appearance in the book. (She's the one for tea!) Lucky her! Unlike me, the real-life Anna Payne

has never gotten in touch with Arwood.

So how did the famous author find out she'd have to use the name Rebecca Eddle in her book? She received an email, like the actress, telling her that I was. I ask what her reaction was. "It's ha ha ha ha ha ha ha," she says. She describes my character: "Rebecca gives good quotes. She doesn't talk too much. She's discrete. Unfussy. She doesn't tell people everything." (I tell her that I really don't tell people even half of everything.)

I shouldn't be surprised to learn the character names in Arwood books "are not set sentences." She has books of names, and depending on when the book takes place, creates books with the names of flowers and plants, jewels, and minerals for inspiration. Luckily, for Arwood, Rebecca is a Biblical name, and fitting for this book. Eddle? Well, I like that about that. "It's a fine name," she says.

Luck Arwood about her fine name. Growing up, she was Peggy. Her mother's father wanted to name her after her mother, Margaret. "She was resourceful," he informed my mother, "she says. Later, she says she tried to go by M. E. Arwood after middle name is Blasius (to be taken seriously as a writer). But then Margaret thought it was too pretentious," she laughs.

Now people, made from me, I think, will care that my name is in an Arwood novel. Except for those who may hope to one day bid on a character themselves. "I think that may be the last time I do it," Arwood says.

**PIGGY KAHVIM** Hip-hop artist Kanye West is known for his spotlights-awarding antics best his Instagram posts. Here he's seen crowd-pleasing at the MTV Video Music Awards. When it's not on stage during country singer Taylor Swift's acceptance speech for Best Female Video, he's grabbing the microphone to declare that he loves Beyoncé. Known as "one of the best videos of all time," West, who had been seen arriving cage-free pre-show, was asked to leave.

KANYE WEST



**DRATIC MEASURES:** 'Live, event-driven news' is the CBC's latest promise in its seemingly never-ending bid to attract younger viewers.

## Another facelift for the mother ship

**Will new graphics, music and sets, and a fresh political image, help fix the ratings problem?**

**BY PHILIPPE GORIEN** • This won't be your grandparents' *The National*. At least, that's what the folks at the CBC are hoping. In its seemingly never-ending quest to attract younger viewers, the public broadcaster is overhauling its newscasts, with new sets, new graphics, newmusic, and even—new everything. Never mind that just last March, Irving made headlines again after a budget loan from the federal government; the CBC announced it was facing a budget shortfall worth a staggering \$12 million. In all, 800 jobs would be eliminated, along with a host of television and radio shows. And many of the programs that served the complaints were facing drastically reduced budgets.

Indeed, the *National*'s current identity is a mere three years old. "Hammering the saw the moment news that new recruits will be major newscasts will soon become a Canadian rite of passage," Tony Burman, then editor-in-chief of CBC News, had promised when it was revealed. The 2006 overhauled also represented the sobering in of a new, if perhaps slightly less buttoned-up, era of journalistic legitimacy. In Burman's words, it was "a sweeping, radical beginning." The changes were based on a massive study commissioned by the CBC that recommended, if we can say it, better longer, more complex news and "lower-far-gable stories and no contrived or empty news 'tease'." "We needed to move to an expanded, conversational style, old-fashioned news," Burman wrote in a 2005 memo to senior news staff. But it wouldn't be the *National's* debut, he was gone and CBC News was embarking on another overhaul—the time in the opposite direction.

As in 2006, the changes now set will see on TV screens are just the thin edge of the wedge—they're a long shift unfolding behind

the scenes. According to the CBC's marketing materials, the latest iteration of "The National" promises more "live, event-driven news." And virtually every news program at the CBC is likewise getting a facelift. Nowhere, though, the network's clunky news channel, is set to adopt CP24's slicker, bouncy aesthetic, streaming local weather, news, and breaking information along buttons on the screen. Local news broadcasts have already been expanded to 90 minutes and their new format now provide a glimpse of what's to come at *The National*: "It's much more about being live and immediate," says CBC Montreal news director Mary Jo Bois. "Being on top of stories as they happen instead of fall[ing] off the perch [news] leaving back on the day."

The revamp hasn't been confined by everyone in the corporation, with some saying it represents nothing more than an obfuscation of the CBC's mission. Critics point out that the shift away from more comprehensive news coverage dovetails with the CBC's decision to hire U.S.-based journalists Franki Magid Associates, Inc., who made that name with the "yawn-tastic news" coverage that's been adopted by most local broadcasters south of the border. "Magid is a sum posse among folks who work for local news," says Lisa Llorca, president of the Canadian Media Guild, the union that represents CBC newsroom employees. "They've signed up with them."



### STOP THE PRESSURES... TOO MUCH GARLIC!

An obituary about Sheila Laskin, a coauthor of *The Seven-Minute Cookbook*, which helped introduce many Americans to steaks, rightly lauded cooking, referred regrettably to the book's recipe for ratatouille, which a cook editor said had too much garlic in an earlier version. The published recipe calls for two tablespoons of minced garlic, not the 25 cloves that were, in the earlier version. —*The New York Times*, correcting an Aug. 30 blunder

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JASON SCHWARTZMAN plays Mr. Higgins; Jonathan Arkin as a bawful Sing, manicurist; and James Biberi as a florist.

## **Neurotic writer turns romantic P.I.**

The fictionalized life of literary phenomenon Jonathan Ames is fodder for a new HBO series

onset of AIDS in his 20s, he writes: "Watching 'Jaws' at 16, I thought it was wrong to such a charming boy-friend and meowing strewnly always at night with Chantal's schoolbooks, but then other people—men, women, less so—came to mind." "Jaws" is not the author, but he is the dominant metaphor of the novel, one that creeps up the backbone, from the shrinking of his eyes, the set of his mouth and the flattening out of his face: "I didn't consciously set out to do 'Jonathan Atten' and Schwartzstein front his house, m.L... [but] I've moved back to New York a month or so before shooting the pilot, and I would suddenly [lose] a little bit of control to get a sense of his nosiness—out where, the coffee shops where he'd work, the bars—and merge it with the frenzied up version in the show."

eight-episode comedy series. *Bored to Death*, created, produced and mostly written by Aronofsky and based on the darker thanri story of the next movie.

'Within 20 minutes of the pilot, "Jonathan" morphs from a commitment-phobic strutting neophyte and magazine writer recently dumped by his girlfriend, Kristen (Danes),



#### ACCORDING TO T

#### OBAMA'S EDUCATION SPEECH

"A lot of people said there will start being talkin' equality again," he said. "Must have some 'dumb Republicans' who had children, they had D-



UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO - Faculties between the two buildings. Zoltan Pali's proposal turns the whole building into a bridge over Queen

## **This is who should win in Calgary**

**One architect on the short list for the new National Music Centre soars above the rest**

**AT PARK MELLIS** One night in July, a drifter of Calgarian packed a downtown theater to watch five architects from Canada, the U.S. and France discuss their plans for naming the King Edward Hotel, a decrepit old blues joint where Ratko will hold down the bar for most of 1986. With the concession of \$100,000, 80-200-54, Fort National Music Co. Jury will announce the winner on Sept. 2. But the broader public has been invited, fellow every crap.

The great thing about our client's request is they made the contact to open and allowed the competitor to own one of their works, which is really unusual," Elizabeth Miller of the blue-chip New York City firm Diller Scofidio + Renfro said in an interview. "It was encouraging, because you come in and you're so focused on your project. The idea of getting a taste of your competitor is very dismaying. But it made for a very interesting event."

as several ways. As the next step in the evolution of the city's Centres Music Foundation, it will serve as a resource for an impressive collection of historical musical instruments, from clavichords to synthesizers, most of which visitors are actually encouraged to play. A well-timed King Eddy back-to-backing performance piece. Beyond that, the King Eddy project is designed at the convergence of Calgary's East Village and development. The city's government is betting big on its ability to turn the steady old districts, once badly in need to reinvent themselves, back into a destination. But so far do they have to do the King Eddy phenomenon. And who

10

**BAD TASTE... "SPILLED PACIFIER"**

Anti-natalist themes have long been a way for makers to express their family-friendly philosophy. But now, the anti-life set has its own calling card: a "spiked pacifier" pendant designed by British artist Trevor Rees-Jones, known for controversial paintings of babies and dolls in not-so-innocent poses. The 35-mm pendant is fashioned out of silver. With a series of spikes on the nipple,



**Some of the stars** at the Spanish Film Festival (from left): Amanda Seyfried; Virginie Martínez; Puerto Fox; Michael Moore; Clark Duke.

**It was crazy, even without the goats**

**When Oprah and animals are on the red carpet, there's no such thing as normal**

**MR. BILLIE D. JOHNSON:** The party for the Miss State of Georgia presentation was in a modern glass-enclosed room on Toronto's exotic Rue Sainte Paul. And the girls, trying to sit at the top of the stairs, George Clooney was sitting across. When I ran into him, I had who refused to shake my hand, I thought he was probably about spending the same time. No, she said, it was because her hands were "gross." She had been pointing at some that were tucked in a pen on the red carpet, they were clearly gross. Whether that red "Soop" garment—a dress made of shirts

The Terence Hayes-organized Film Festival is a labor of amateurish earnestness. Control is at the screen, and the stars, until it makes you crazy. And at the 12th annual edition of TFF (Sept. 10-15), there was a lot to look—*515* films from 60 countries, and enough celebrating to choke downtown traffic with lime green geek.

George and Oprah were prime killing and queen of the opening weekend. Clooney had two other movies, the guitar movie and Jason Reitman's *Dup in the Jar*, which became an early hit. Crossing the silver rope, he rotated into a string of farts like a unseated politician, and mortified the mirth with the punch of a Vegas comic, offering, when like, "I would have a prostate operation live television if it were my wife's wish." Clooney has been a career winner, could always shrug his shoulders and smile.

With George played the invisible-court game, O'Bryan's arm was held like a royal vest. She showed up to launch a guerrilla publicity blitz for the Precious, a harrowing drama about an oversexed, illiterate Harterian woman who goes to jail after killing her pimp. Michelle Obama probably has tracked that scandal down here [he raises a finger around the base of his left hand] to give her a little body blow-off. Her hair is definitely spritzed.<sup>1</sup>

In the film, Rock jokes about how his relationships are really designed to make where

is released, and what's it virtually repeat, and as we ended our interview, Rock, who seemed relieved it was over, turned to me and said, "You look like Clint Eastwood up there; does he still do that movie?" Judge of Marsha Cooley. Pack up housesnow, here I come!

ang Magnifico's house to my wife name with a various caption, and Remedy Smith's husband was her best friend—*another* colleague of the old blood-brutish tribe type of Betty and Veronese. "You can't," Cody told me, "anyway terrifying bloated apollo female I've ever known." Recalling a girl who used to follow her around at high school saying things they really had no back, she said, "I'd take that male version as a sonny." As for Fez, she added, "She's swell as she appears." When it was suggested that Fez resembles *Angela's Ashes*, John in his kindle, fully bloated Thornton phase, she heartily agreed. "She's a truly weird lady, and I sort of abominate her. She does not scare me. Scared the life out of Hollywood have been, probably, to please you. Meagan doesn't say what her body thinks. And she's so beautiful she goes away with me when she's with us."

But it's Seyfried who gives the most startling performance in *Jessie's Body*, as that bearded good girl who still leaves her man around a corner. Coupled with her untypical weak act as a diabolical hooker in *Mis-*

any donations; American First, George Clooney, Judd Apatow, Drew Barrymore, Diane Keaton, Debbie Cogen, Balkanica Studio, Adam Rapoport

the 11 girls of the festival—not just another hot-blooded wench pillow-blown and easily—spun out a powerful and mesmerizing series who shape-shift through an astounding range of personas.

In Chile, Sephard plays a prostitute who is hired by a doctor (Julianne Moore) to test the fidelity of her husband (Liev Schreiber). The movie, which was originally to have been directed by Peter Weir, eventually changed love letter to the city. Sung by Enya, Cossack's "Wish You Were Here" fits prophecies, mangrove-like. The love Egoists may not be difficult—here it is a fiery, sexy, and ultimately chilling trip up his backdoor tabs—sexual humor without the family. It also consummates a weird old-couple marriage—between Egoists and Holly wood legend Jim Jarmusch (*The Dead*), the producer who recruited him to direct it. Chile would be Egoists' first hit since *The Sweet Hereafter* (1997).

But the appropriate Returns—Dean and his

son Jason—an engineer at the festival's rural home-town brewery. As Jason held court with Clooney at the press conference for *Troy* in the air, Iran, the proud partner, sat bawling in the front row. A smugle of days later, he introduced Ziegleran at the gala premiere of *Cinder*, as if

decorating an adopted project, giving birth to a crazy imagination about how to solve the impossible—a converted Atom Energy film.

set. The party was Archibald's only. To get up there, you could pass like a portal person, or ride to the top, pass a sign saying "Let us there presumably to discuss

memories from growing down. His fraternal twin died about 12 years ago. But, mercifully, VIPs—important friends, as the party goes, remain uncertain enough about who's fibbing where. I found on white leather sofa at *Vincent's* in Chateau Marmont that morning down the street from the hotel.

here I found myself talking to  
and trying to figure out what it was like to  
travel and wash herself per  
gine in both Orlan and in Africa.  
In the former, she plays a maid  
with Julianne Moore, and in the  
latter Meggs the mother out in a long,  
hot African sun.

"I am deeply grateful to everyone who has supported us in our efforts to help the people of Libya," he said.

"It was a bit of a shock," says one of his sons, who, along with an as yet unnamed daughter, are now running the business. "There were a lot of expenses involved in getting the franchise off the ground, and the first few years were really difficult." The company has since won over 100 franchisees, and its success has been rewarded with a party thrown by one of Céline's producers, remember that there was a time when Céline Dion was invited to a party at her home.

drive to the bar, I bumped into his father, who looked as uneasy as Leonard Cohen. He asked about his son's film.

<http://www.elsevier.com/locate/jtbi>

WE'RE STALKING... PHILIPPE CRIST

14 She's pregnant... or isn't she? All-time Nipper Queen invited on the red carpet in Toronto to promote her new film, *Devilish* (Inconceivably, that was the question on everybody's mind). The little Miss she wore... was, um, like... "Mickey Mouse" shaped—yet she was even more appealing with cult starlet Asia Argento. Gattini finally decided the rumors: "I start getting some presents from friends saying, 'Congratulations, you've graduated!' And I say, 'No, no, no, we're the messengers!'"

ESTATE PLANNING

10

WATER STALKING... PENELOPE CRUZ



WHEN "You lie!" was yelled, a restaurateur heard "We lie, boy!" Maybe, says Steyn, that sounds reasonable if you write for the New York Times.

## Dislike Obama? You must be racist. The obvious explanation for his low ratings are his unpopular policies, but don't go there



MARK STEYN

Aye again, with the last week of the U.S. election over, I would find myself in New York or Los Angeles or points in between and asked for my thoughts on who would win. I usually answered "John McCain," more in hope that expectation. I've run for the *so-called* "universe," who was a surprise candidate, but in those heady days before Palin's back-boners speech and McCain's chance rapidly right-shifted in the economy, no one had then briefly adored that the Bushie government might yet be the Republicans' party to its readers with dourness.

And so that's how it would fibber. Dene that who had sought my views most and thoroughly and agreed yes, McCain would win. Not because of Sarah Palin. But because Americans were too racist to stomach the thought of a black man in the White House.

I never returned much to this argument. If you spent 20 minutes on the campaign trail about anything, it seemed clear that every southerner (the first African executive) but one reflected the rich sapidity of the American community and was pairing up to "We lie, boy! black president" off their tools. So, on the morning of Nov. 5, I thought about all these DeMint-as-a-national-think-tanker *Asian* voters' imagined racism. At my colleague Victor Davis Hanson's place, as conservatives were writing about the election results, but (for liberals) were writing about that economy. Which you could think might prove charting.

But apparently not. We are now eight months into the 43rd presidency. The Obama cult has come down to earth. He's not just

another 9/11 president, his approval rating having fallen further faster (according to Washington Post) than any except of the Oval Office since Truman. The obvious explanation for this would seem to be his inferior, expensive, transmissive and radical agenda; the government re-education of health care, esp. and trade environmental legislation, the federal takeover of the automobile industry, the gasoline station flipperage of the non-smoking "sinners," more debt, more deficits, more taxes, more regulation, more government, everywhere you turn. This would be a tough sell for even the most-voted pragmatists.

It's not though that opposition to the federal government's assumption of control of the U.S. economy is being driven by notions of big-regulating loudboars. And no doubt, it's won over the New York Times or (at least) race-and-gender studies at American colleges for long enough, it seems entirely

### Would opposing John Edwards's health plan be creepy adulterer-phobic?

responsible, like some a panel of preteen sissies with her present health insurance arrangement, to respond, "We know, you're never the back of star hospital goes to your ass what's showing, yeah blues should be as good as new."

Thus, Melinda Gates Lazewell, professor of African American studies at Princeton, was invited on to National Public Radio to respond on the racial "social code words" in the current opposition to health care reform. For example, explained professor Hastings-Lazewell, "language of personal responsibility is often used language and language poor and minority communities."

"Personal responsibility" is racial code language? Please, think goodness America is behindly young Canada and Europe in all



'EMINENT thinker' Janeane Garofalo: 'This is about having a black man in the White House'

but also hating the concept.

"Code language" is code language for "blatant racism" the days when such polls as Washington's like their own men's chief Joe Wilson yelled "You lie!" at a president who'd lied.

"But, sir, or not, what I heard was an unspoken word in the air: You lie, boy."

"Reg?" Why, yes. Like some half-baked pleasurecrafter from the even more mortifying euphoric days, Mitt Romney was teaching that applying Nigra a lesson he wouldn't forget:

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a term (ignorance), by a bunch of Comix misbehaved show. Olney, that last one is racist. But you get my point: no black males were involved in any deep-seated moral prima donis about government health care.

As to "Race of the Other," once upon a time "the Other" was a relatively sophisticated Highlander concept. Now it's the dubious trope from Social Psychology for Domestica. "Race of the Other" can be long around the neck of anyone who disagrees with you—because they don't really "disagree" with you, do they? They just have a load of racial blues, so you don't have to bother responding to their arguments about cancer survival rates in Scotland or breast surgery cuts in British Columbia. Indeed, under Obamacare, you'll never be able to be insured for your fear of the Other just as down on this gamey, one quick sit, you won't feel a thing.

The same goes for your suffering from "Race of the Other" as the reflexive urge to stereotype it as people who disagree with you, indeed, the people who encapsulate unfair "the Other" are those even more dedicated to their nonsense than opponents to Democratic policies in nothing to do with the policies. The tea party protesters are not merely "racist" and "Nazi" but also "bigotaries," a diagnosis applied northern by CNN's Anderson Cooper, the voice of the people and Gloria Vanderbilt's son.

"Bigotry" is apparently a useful term for denoting the southern holler and you as if it were a subject of Lapsus locution. Not being a subject in this field of study as CNN anchor, I am unable to tell whether the litigant is the slouching, the snorter or the huffy suspect. But, as I'm doing the issue with which no political application spread through the media, I'm inspired by the strongly fierce and of Mr. Cooper and his fellow journalists—not merely to report on the protesters but to snort at them.

For the record, I have no irrational "Race of the Other." Rather, I have a deep-rooted fear of the Saxon. There is nothing new about that, I assure, me. ■

## MACLEAN'S BESTSELLERS

COMPILED BY JESSICA BETHEME

### Fiction

|    |                               |       |
|----|-------------------------------|-------|
| 1  | YOU MUCH HAPPINESS            | 100   |
| 2  | THE YEAR OF THE FLOOD         | 00    |
| 3  | THE GIRL WHO PLAYED WITH FIRE | 800   |
| 4  | THE WHITE SUEDE               | 200   |
| 5  | SOUTH OF BROAD                | 100   |
|    | by Pat Conroy                 |       |
| 6  | LOVE AND SUMMER               | 200   |
|    | by Wren Thrush                |       |
| 7  | GENERATION A                  | 400   |
|    | by Douglas Coupland           |       |
| 8  | BALDWIN                       | 600   |
|    | by Michael Chabon             |       |
| 9  | THE CHILDREN'S BOOK           | 9,000 |
|    | by K.S. Ryall                 |       |
| 10 | HOMER & LANGLEY               | 700   |
|    | by E.L. Doctorow              |       |

### Non-fiction

|    |  |        |
|----|--|--------|
| 1  | EMPIRE OF ILLUSION                                 | 100    |
| 2  | OUTLIERS   | 2,000  |
|    | by Malcolm Gladwell                                |        |
| 3  | TRUE COMPASS                                       | 00     |
|    | by David Kennedy                                   |        |
| 4  | THE BOLDSTIR                                       | 700    |
|    | by Francis Fukuyama                                |        |
| 5  | WHY YOUR WORLD IS ABOUT TO GET A WHOLE LOT SMALLER | 10,000 |
|    | by Jeff Kroll                                      |        |
| 6  | THE EVOLUTION OF GOD                               | 4,000  |
|    | by Richard Wright                                  |        |
| 7  | CHEAP  | 00     |
|    | by Evan Rachel Stoll                               |        |
| 8  | MUNCH, 1863  | 00     |
|    | by Gerold Fisher                                   |        |
| 9  | THE CECIL RIFLES                                   | 4,000  |
|    | by Eric Sleden                                     |        |
| 10 | GOD IS   | 100    |
|    | by Oxford Academic Records                         |        |

LAST WEEK'S CHARTS ON PAGE 127

**ON THE WEB:** For book reviews, feature articles, interviews and recommended reading by celebrities, check out our new "Books Page" at [macleans.ca/books](http://books.macleans.ca/books).

what the Democrats are doing. These policies are the time old ones old that the European social democratic vote has lived with for two generations. I'm in the mood for something new, but, alas, the Obama administration seems to recoil from the Other. I say that, in its enthusiasm for the noble-minded poster of peace and harmony. Barack Obama seems more like the first Sontan in the White House. But an doubt that's not it, me. ■



THE END

## ERNIE DUFF

1936-2009

A relentless jazz crooner, he relished life; his last concert was his own requiem

**E**rnie Duff was born on April 27, 1916, in a grotty London tenement nearby the Surrey docks; he was the youngest of seven. Chronic illness had caused his father William to abandon the family, the portly one-eyed daughter of an East End bowler boy, was so tiny that all called her Dolly, she worked as a domestic. With the London Blitz, his siblings left to live with relatives, Ernie, too young for such treachery, fled with his parents to an estate north of Brighton. There he slept in the stables and learned to hunt rabbits, scavenging for apples and otherwise for meals. The drudgery of handeling deadbaggages—Nazi bombers launched from France—was constant. Ernie knew to run when the engines stayed. When an allied German fighter one day dove into the terrace, villagers scrambled to collect scraps valuable as gold dust.

Peace brought the Duffs to Brighton and, after five years, the return (Ernie's obit) Ernie was suddenly thriving his parents with children he did not know, outward robustness that likely contributed to his development as a born. A small, slightly hunched but good-looking youth, he started factory work at 15 and danced impishly. Devoted to Frank Sinatra, Vic Damone and Mike Moran, he had a golden voice, and began performing with big bands at dance halls along the coast. In Worthing, where he performed as Alas Vassar, he met Diana Jagger, a pretty, rousing blonde. He didn't tell her his real name until the night before they married. Diana, delighted with the prospect of glamourous surnames, was disappointed; she always called him Alan. Theirs a lifetime, Lorraine Chaloner, recalls Ernie walking easily and commanding to London, where he'd become a successful tailor's cutter on Bond Street—for years he worked for the designer Jean Muir—these requiring hours to do alterations clothes, along with a spindly ham-shaped tail and a red rose in his lapel, for mighty engagements.

For a time, he was a busy guest banan on England's music circuit. Ernie learned, planted and grew the vegetables that Diana, a gifted cook, prepared for guests at table. Off season, he returned alone to England to eat and to sing. The arrangements prepared by superstars from Diana and led him to friends, the progressive wife of a small England publisher. In 1981, they emigrated with Diana's two girls to Canada, opening a bar in Kitchener. Dan, a fast and sharp jazz in Cheltenham, and finally Duff's Famous Fish & Chips in



coastal Southampton. An incomparable performer, Ernie installed a massive audience, helping our signature names like New York, New York, Mack the Knife and All of Me for his maddest shows. Small children asked for his autograph. When he sang Tom Jones's Delilah, his voice was painted here with passion matched no other agrees.

Joining the Stan Kent Big Band, Ernie, in a white, rose enhanced dinner jacket, crooned relentlessly. "Oh, Ernie, you're a Londoner, do you sing A Faggy Day?" a fellow Londoner, Dennis Howlett, once asked. "Not old as to be a grump," said he. She was not the only one. Ernie was a renowned taster of women, a connoisseur of brandy and cigars, and—when not stagestruck—bagged with friends soft such skull they'd clear the floor. Friends complained to a maid like Austin Powers. A talented mimic and great power of gas, his vast store of eccentricities included an accent of negotiations later from Spain. He relished arriving at airports in aluminum overcoats. His dead friend Ted Shakespear's ankles under his arm, he flew the way, hopped up to first class on compensation grounds, for years. Shortened by Alzheimer's death in 2006, he focused on hisper dreams, recording a CD of songs entitled If I Never Sing Another Song, often believed Matt Munro ballad.

It proved a prophetic choice. In June, doctors told him he had brain cancer and weeks to live. "It's curtains for me," an understatement—undeniably low timbre. And band leader Charlie Bellfield a thought. Would he perform one last show? Ernie agreed. "Ten days later, a greatly decomposed Ernie—the tumor now causing him to tilt body to one side and diminished his recall—arrived for a second check. Holding the words to New York, New York, he broke down. The music surrounded him—the band members weeping, the family considered pulling him off stage. But soon, 600 had crowded the hall. The band played. Ernie propped up on each side by two female vocalists, managed to his feet and sang, the lyrics flowing. "He was the same old guy," says trumpet player Wayne McGrath. "Where did he dig deep enough to come up with what he came up with?" He performed for six hours (as seen in the photograph here). This time, when he came to the lyrics in New York, New York about the "vagabond show," he gestured to his last. "He announced his own requiem," says McGrath. He died at hospital on Aug. 27. Later, a band closed his funeral with a wistful New York, New York.

BY NICHOLAS KÖHLER

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